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ALGIERS, TUNIS IMPROVE RELATIONS

London 8 DAYS in English 28 Feb 81 p 13

[Text]

RELATIONS between Tunisia and Algeria seem to be better than they have been in years. The mistrust between the two countries has dissipated, and now appears to have given way to the desire for close bilateral cooperation. This new direction began taking shape when Tunisian Prime Minister Mohammed Mzali visited Algiers in December, and took on more concrete form with Algerian Prime Minister Ahmed Abdelghani's visit to Tunisia this month.

This 'ardent desire' was translated into more concrete terms in an agreement by which the two decided to create a bank with \$40m capital to develop economic, commercial and financial cooperation between the two countries and finance projects in other nations. They also agreed to create a joint office of industrial studies to manage modern techniques and investigate the creation of factories to manufacture building materials.

All indications are that these agreements and others for financial, educational and technical cooperation will be different from similar agreements in the past which were never carried out. One of the agreements, in fact, called for the creation of a special commission to oversee the operation of the other agreements.

Tunisia's new position on relations with its neighbours — Algeria, Morocco, and Libya — is, according to Information Minister Tahar Belkhoja: 'A return to a policy based on being good neighbours . . . We believe that a policy of openness and cooperation with our neighbours is the best way to resolve problems.' Tunisia's relations with Libya, tense since 1974, are becoming easier, and cooperation between the two seems to be starting up again. Tunisia's relations with Morocco are also on the upgrade.

There are many reasons why Mzali's government is making a priority out of relations with its neighbours. Mzali and many people in his government are convinced that Tunisia is destined to be a part of a 'Great Arab Maghreb', and have learned their lesson from the tension of recent years which exploded into the Gafsa affair in January 1980. Scores died when the Tunisian town of Gafsa came under armed attack one night, and the government blamed Libya (and to a lesser extent Algeria).

The idea of a 'Great Arab Maghreb', which has lain dormant for several years, is still bogged down by two problems: the Western Sahara conflict which is poisoning Algerian-Moroccan relations, and doubts as to whether Libya would belong.

TRADE PACT SEEN AIDING ARAB STRATEGY

Kuwait KUWAIT TIMES in English 1 Mar 81 p 2

[Text]

TUNIS, Sat. — The Arab Economic and Social Council concluded its meeting here yesterday by adopting the trade and economic exchange facilitation agreement among Arab countries. The meeting was presided over by Kuwait's Finance Minister, Abdel-Rahman Salim Al-Ateeqi.

The Arab League Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Affairs, Abdel-Hassan Zaizalah, said the economic issues dominated the agenda of the meeting which translated the Amman summit principles into programmes, projects and constructive co-operation agreements.

The Arab League is now preparing the first pan-Arab economic plan which will include joint Arab development projects and achieve the long-awaited joint Arab strategy, he said.

The Council also discussed Arab economic relation with the rest of the world and reaffirmed the placement of Arab economic interests in the service of Arab national interests.

The Council encouraged the investment of capital in Arab north Africa, he said.

The facilitation agreement which the Council has approved links production, exchange and services and thus bridges the gaps in previous agreements, Zaizalah said.

The agreement further stipulates that Arab countries should provide facilities and incentives in the fields of finance, insurance and transport in order to consolidate trade exchanges.

DUTIES.

The facilitation agreement stresses two main points. First is the exemption of agricultural and animal goods — the primary materials of joint pan-Arab projects — from customs and any other duties. The second is the protection of pan-Arab goods by placing high tariffs on foreign imports.

The Council also ruled that economic sanctions should be applied on member countries only in cases of national violation and with the approval of the Council.

The Council further ruled that Arab countries should exchange goods directly among themselves without outsiders as middlemen.—Kuna

GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO REVIVE AGRICULTURE

London 8 DAYS in English 28 Feb 81 p 22

[Article by Howard Schissel]

[Text]

The Algerian government's plans for boosting agricultural productivity include a revitalisation of the private sector, reports HOWARD SCHISSEL.

ALGERIA'S economic planners are counting on the country's small private farmers to help improve stagnating agricultural production. After years of neglect, even suspicion, smallholders are to receive financial incentives from the government, as well as greater access to technical services and irrigation facilities.

Once considered supporters of the feudal landowners, the smallholders are now viewed by government officials as 'objective allies' in the 'socialist transformation' of the rural economy. Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Salim Saadi comments: 'There is a factor which has never really been sufficiently explained: 70 per cent of the rural population works in the private agricultural sector: which is composed 95 per cent of smallholders; but these small private farmers possess only 20 per cent of the productive potential in agriculture, in comparison with the state-controlled self-management sector's 70 per cent — which accounts for only 15 per cent of the rural population.'

A number of measures aimed at encouraging smallholders were taken last year. For example, now they have access to special loans for agriculture from the Banque Nationale d'Algerie (BNA). They can also sell a portion of their produce directly, at the farmers' markets (Souk el Fellah), which have sprung up on the edge of most major urban centres.

Another fillip for smallholders will be the 5,000-6,000 new tractors to be made available to them in 1981 — equal to the amount they received during the past ten years. They will also gain greater access to small irrigation schemes with the assistance of the Office National du Matériel Hydraulique (Omanmyd).

Perhaps the greatest source of anxiety for officials at the ministry of agriculture is the lacklustre performance of the socialist sector. It has two components: self-management farms set up at the time of independence on land abandoned by the French colonists, and the agrarian reform domains created by the 1973 Agrarian Revolution decrees issued by the late president, Houari Boumedienne.

Algeria's oil wealth enables it to import staple goods, but in the long run this creates a dependence which the government wants to avoid. For instance, the country must purchase abroad 60 per cent of its cereal

needs, 80 per cent of edible oils, almost all its sugar and half its eggs. The situation is getting worse — Algeria imported four times as much cereals in 1980 as it did ten years earlier.

One reason for the disappointing performance of Algerian agriculture has been the low level of remuneration in the countryside, together with a lack of basic amenities and essential social services. The attraction of 'city lights' has been so great to rural youth that the countryside's population is ageing rapidly.

According to Saadi, the 'priority of priorities' for his ministry is to reform the state agricultural sector. The 2,000 self-management domains, often haphazardly put together, are to be broken up into 4,000 new productive units. Easier to run because smaller in size, they will also be more specialised. Agricultural engineers will have completed detailed plans by the end of the year, which are to serve as the blueprint for reform.

A long standing complaint of smallholders and agricultural cooperatives is the inefficient transport and marketing networks. Even when crops are good, the produce often fails to reach the urban markets. Moreover, speculation by middlemen makes prices artificially high, without benefiting the grower. Improved distribution would be a major incentive for farmers to increase their productivity.

Another aspect of government plans to revitalise agriculture is to make the vast tracts of unused land in Algeria's 'deep south' fertile by irrigation. During the present Five Year Development Plan (1980-1984), 12 major dams are to be completed. By 1984, the total amount of irrigated land should increase from 300,000 to 500,000 hectares. The principal crops are to be animal fodder (170,000 hectares), vegetables (120,000), maize and millet (50,000) and citrus fruits (50,000).

SOVIET, ALGERIAN GAS RACE IS ON

London 8 DAYS in English 28 Feb 81 p 48

[Article by Fulvio Grimaldi]

[Text]

In the coming years Europe will spread its risks by buying gas from both the USSR and Algeria, says FULVIO GRIMALDI.

BY THE END of the 1980s natural gas will play a major role in Europe's energy mix. Most of the gas will come from two of the world's largest suppliers, the Soviet Union and Algeria, whose pipeline projects are taking on the appearance of a 'gas race' spurred by the political implications of excessive European dependence on one source.

Currently the Soviet Union supplies Western Europe with around 22.5bn cubic metres of gas a year. West Germany gets 9.3bn cu m, Italy 7bn, France 4bn and Austria 2.2bn. When the 6,000-km pipeline linking the massive reserves of the Yamal peninsula with Western Europe comes onstream (see *8 Days*, 27 December, 1980), this flow is expected to increase to 67.5bn cu m a year. This is equivalent to about 60m tonnes of oil.

The Soviet project offers massive opportunities for western industrial and finance concerns. A West European consortium led by Deutsche Bank finally agreed at the end of January to give Moscow a deutschmark 10bn (£5.1bn) loan for the project. The difference in interest rates — the consortium insisted on 9.75 per cent while the Soviet Union was only

prepared to pay 7.75 per cent — will be covered by German manufacturers involved in building the pipeline to the German border.

Washington, however, has its misgivings about the project, foreseeing a dangerous European dependence on the Soviet Union. It is the extent of the pipeline which particularly concerns the US. Gas would be exported to West Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Scandinavia, Austria, Switzerland, Great Britain and Spain. While the Carter administration was ostensibly in favour of the development of Soviet energy reserves with western assistance, and even granted US equipment companies export licences for the pipeline project, President Reagan is committed to a policy of Soviet 'containment'.

This is where Algerian supplies come in. Last summer Italian President Alessandro Pertini asked the Algerian government to build another pipe in addition to the current TransMed line from Algeria via the Straits of Messina, which on completion will pump over 12m cu m of gas to Italy. The gas provided by the second pipeline could, reasoned the Italian government, be shunted on to West Germany, Switzerland, Austria and possibly France and the Benelux countries.

Negotiations between the Algiers government and the state-owned Italian giant ENI are moving rapidly. Investment

in the second pipeline will amount to about \$10bn.

The project was one of the issues discussed during the official visit to Rome by Algeria's minister for oil and petrochemicals, Nabi Belkacem, at the beginning of February. Commenting on his meeting with Italian Minister of Industry Attilio Pandolfi, President Pertini and Prime Minister Arnaldo Forlani, Belkacem told *8 Days* of the special relationship between the two countries, particularly with regard to joint ventures, notably in Africa. He pointed to the recent cooperation between ENI and the Algerian government in the oil sector — Algeria has just sold ENI's affiliate Agip 1m tonnes of oil, and joint oil prospecting ventures in Algeria were also under consideration. However, he warned that if Italy starts back-tracking, Spain is always ready to take its place.

The overall European response to both Soviet and Algerian pipelines has been positive. Forlani has even declared that the two projects could be seen as complementary rather than competitive. For example, Algerian gas bought by central European countries could remain in Italy in exchange for the Italian 'quota' of Soviet gas.

CSO: 4420

BRIEFS

ALGERIA TO GO NUCLEAR--With a view to reducing its oil exports, Algeria intends to develop new energy capability in the coming years. Algeria's main aim is to equip itself with nuclear power stations which would be fuelled by indigenous uranium from the Hoggar region. In 1980, exports of hydrocarbons represented 97 percent of total export revenues--production was 47bn cu m of gas and 36m tonnes of oil (of which 30m were sold abroad). Already the series of price increases last year has resulted in a fall in sales. In the gas sector, the government will decide to make new investments only if firm guarantees are obtained regarding price and the exploitation of deposits. Algeria's uranium reserves are estimated at more than 50,000 tonnes, and from 1984 it should be able to export some 1,300 tonnes of concentrated uranium annually. Algeria has decided to acquire two nuclear reactors. One, similar to the Osiris reactor delivered by France to Iraq, will be used for research purposes. The country's Societe Nationale d'Electricite et de Gaz (Sonelgaz) has asked the Sofratome company, a subsidiary of the French group Framatome, to study ways of carrying out the project. France would be ready to supply Algeria with enriched uranium in exchange for certain quantities of uranium ore from Hoggar. [Text] [London 8 DAYS in English 28 Feb 81 pp 46-47]

CSO: 4420

AUSTRIAN ENVOY FORESEES REVOLUTIONARY INFLUENCE EXPANDING

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 Feb 81 p 8

[Interview with Ambassador Johann Plattner]

[Text] Dr Johann Plattner is the Austrian ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Iran. He entered the Austrian foreign ministry in 1959. He was a diplomat in Rio de Janeiro, Mexico, and Prague. He has now spent a year in Iran. He is forty-seven years of age. Of his residence in Iran he says: "This is my first assignment as an ambassador to a foreign country and I am happy to be here." The English-language KEYHAN TIMES held a relatively long interview with Dr Plattner, portions of which appear below:

Question: On 26 October 1955 the Austrian parliament resolved that Austria remain a free and neutral country. Do you really think that a country can be neutral in the world of the twenty-first century? If so, could you explain your country's neutrality for us?

Answer: Yes. My answer must be affirmative because otherwise I should have doubts as to the neutrality of Austria. Austria is a country which is not tied to any military or political bloc. I think I have answered part of your question in this way. The other part remains, i.e., can a country remain neutral? Yes, it can. Because neutrality does not mean that we have no presence on the international scene. It does not mean that we are not active, that we only wait for events to happen, that we only wait for problems to solve themselves. I can say that there is not even a single case about which we have not made our position clear and have not spoken our view to the world and the United Nations. I want to show you that neutrality does not mean inactivity. On the contrary, a neutral country has a rather more difficult position than other countries, because countries tied to a military or political bloc can converse with their allies and adopt a common position.

Question: What is the framework of Austria's foreign policy?

Answer: Apart from the fact that Austria is a neutral country without ties to any block, we must definitely possess characteristics that aid the framing of our position. For example, one of the most important of our characteristics is our belief opposing force and war and supporting the solution of international problems. Due to the fact that we think that no international problem exists which cannot be solved through negotiation, we recommend the exchange of views and peaceful aims in place of any war, in any region, between any two countries. This is because we believe that war does not truly solve problems.

Question: Are you opposed to war or opposed to a country which starts a war?

Answer: First I must tell you that it is not always easily possible to be positive who started a war or at what time the war began. Often the appearance of a war can be the result of a country's behavior for years past, and therefore one cannot always say who really started the war. But of course since we always condemn war, logically we also denounce aggression. Therefore this is one of the special features of Austria's foreign policy. War and force can never mean the solution to international problems. A true, logical and civilized solution to problems can be achieved only by negotiations and an exchange of views.

Question: What is your view of the relations between Iran and Austria during the past two years?

Answer: You see you again ask a question which has no simple answer. Of course any question can be raised. I think that relations between our two countries are very good. We believe in the principle that every country must grow according to its people's desires. Non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries is a very important principle. Every country must lay its foundation in the way that its people desire. We thus have good relations with Iran. We have economic relations with each other. We export many of our goods to your country, and we also import many goods from your country. But of course these relations can be expanded, these relations can be strengthened. What is lacking in our relations is private contact and communication. Of course Austria sends economic missions to your country in order to negotiate with Iranian commercial managers. Iranian merchants also come to Austria for talks. However, from the time of the revolution up till now no official visit between the two countries has been made. No Austrian minister has come to your country, and no Iranian minister has made an official visit to Austria. Perhaps unofficial visits have occurred, but no official ones. Therefore, if we have good and proper relations, much work will be accomplished, and useful actions will be taken to promote and strengthen our relations.

Question: Can you give figures concerning economic and cultural relations between our two countries? I know that a number of Iranians are living in Austria. How many Austrians are living in Iran?

Answer: Economic and mercantile exchange has decreased from the period prior to the revolution. However, this year Austrian exports rose once again, and it is expected that they will reach 2 billion shillings Austrian for 1980. In Tehran's international exhibition we were the only western country which had an independent booth, Sweden had only an information booth, but we had a real booth. Besides us, there were eastern countries which had independent booths.

Question: When the United States asked the European countries to make a decision concerning the hostages, what was your position? Did your country participate in the economic boycott of Iran?

Answer: Of course as an independent country we could not participate in the economic boycott. We are neutral, and are not a U.S. ally.

Question: How are the events of the war being reported in Austria?

Answer: Of course newspapers reach me very late. My belief is that the news reflects all the aspects. Austrian reporters and correspondents were both here and in Iraq. Unfortunately, when the Austrian radio-television correspondents came to Iran several weeks ago, meaning in the third or fourth week of the war, not one of them could go to the front because at that time no one could go to the front. However, aside from this, in my opinion all events are reflected in the news reports as they happened. The Austrian press has displayed an accurate picture of what is happening.

It must be said that as time passes, Iran increases its forces and defensive powers, and this is more or less evident in the war reports. The Iraqi forces entered Iran at the beginning, but later you became more organized, and defended yourselves so vigorously that it was unimaginable. This is what is obvious from the reports of correspondents. In my view, this was correct and fair publication of the news.

Question: Does your country make weapons?

Answer: Yes, we produce arms, artillery, tanks and of course military trucks. We even export these weapons. Of course, when following the principles of neutrality, this seems a very complex matter.

Question: It is interesting for us to know how the people of other countries view our revolution, and how they explain it. It is also interesting for us to know the views of diplomats concerning the Islamic revolution and how they explain it. This is because diplomats are not like ordinary people; they look, analyze and then cautiously display a reaction. Now you are a diplomat in Iran, and have witnessed people's demonstrations and many other matters in this country. How do you explain our Islamic revolution? And what is your understanding of it?

Answer: I think that I must say again that one of the principles of Austrian policy is that any country can make a decision concerning its own destiny, and make efforts to build and secure the country according to its own wishes. Even if we do not understand your revolution, and this issue is not under our discussion, we must comprehend the people's sacrifice. We must also formally recognize the people's desire to build their country as they wish to. Fortunately however, we are very happy in this respect since the more we observe the transformations of your country, the more we understand you.

We think the Iranian revolution is one of the most interesting events of the modern era because it is a revolution based on religious principles and beliefs, which is a thing that has seldom occurred in history. Therefore it is one of the most extraordinary and interesting events of the present era. We completely understand your people's will to be independent, their doubts concerning modern technical developments, and their belief that not everything arriving from abroad must be unquestioningly accepted. Your people believe that they must be sceptical in this regard, and strive to use their own products.

This is very, very interesting and we understand it. When inspecting your ministries and talking with ministers, I always say to my colleagues that we completely understand your revolution and we wish for your success. We hope that your revolution will be successful and that Austria announces its readiness to cooperate with you.

In this instance I cite an example; facts demonstrate that we are ready to cooperate with you. The proof is that we did not participate in the economic blockade against you. Your people can come to Austria any time they like. Right now we are exporting to your country those goods which you want and which we have. We also purchase from your country whenever necessary. We have a cultural institute here, and this shows that we are interested in your country; having a cultural institute is an important point. This is my answer to your question.

Question: We have one more question. You said that Austria deems Iran an important area in the Persian Gulf, and that you believe that a major change has occurred in it. Do you think that the Islamic revolution in Iran has had an effect on the region?

Answer: I think that Iran possesses particular importance for political reasons. In the first place, there is the passage of oil through the Persian Gulf, it is a country of 35 million persons with potentiality for economic growth, you are a rich country.

Iran is also significant from other points of view, one of which is the Iranian Islamic revolution. Eventually your revolution will also spread to other countries. I cannot answer this part of your question, but when I said "an important area," I meant from a geo-political point of view.

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CSO: 4906

COMMENTS ON POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN 'CRIMINALS' SYNDICATE

Paris IRAN-E AZAD in Persian 24 Jan 81 pp 1,3,6

[Text] Stephan Zweich, an Austrian writer, believed that a human being will become addicted to power very quickly. In general, addiction to power is more dangerous than any other form of addiction. It is possible for someone to free himself from the prison of alcohol and morphine through will power, but a person addicted to power can in no way free himself from it, even at the price of his very life. In the course of history we have seen a great many people whose passion for giving orders and governing attained such dominance over them that they placed their lives in peril in order to protect their positions. The performance of the leaders of the Islamic Republic confirm Zweich's point of view in the best possible way. The people who put Khomeyni at the head of this conspiracy against the Iranian nation, which had no familiarity of any kind with Khomeyni and his cohorts, were fully aware of the nature of this group. They knew that Khomeyni had a passion to rule the Moslem world fermenting in his mind, and that, as he said himself, he is not a "scholar" who will go to Qom and pray after the deliverance of the nation from oppression(!) They knew that "Bani Sadr" has a passion for high office. If he did not, why did he call himself the first president of Iran several years ago, when he had no previous political background, and when no one in Iran had heard his name, as he himself admitted in a talk with Jean Paul Sartre, a French writer and philosopher? Unlike Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, and Ho Chi Minh, Bani Sadr was not the leader of a party or a movement so that he could assure his position in the future in the event of victory. How could Bani Sadr, who was merely one of Khomeyni's lackeys, know that Khomeyni would prefer him over Qotbzadeh or Yazdi in the event of victory? In principle, is it not true that the President of the Republic is elected by vote of the people? (Bani Sadr makes a reference every day to the fact that he was elected to his position by a vote of the people, and he forgets that in this hell of ours some alternatives are so bad that the people will take refuge with a dragon to escape them). How could Bani Sadr have been sure that the people would choose him? Isn't it reasonable to assume that years ago these people knew what roles had been chosen for them? The designers of this scenario knew as well that such petty, hollow beings, who were never worthy of respect in the past, and whose orders would never get any farther than the front door, would quickly get caught in the net of this addiction. When they got into the saddle, not only did they not get back down, they stayed there until blood was as deep as the level of their stirrups, because people of this nature, like Nero and Caligula, resort to killing in order to demonstrate their power. Putting people like Khomeyni, Montazeri, Beheshti, Rafsanjani, Bani Sadr, and Khalkhali in positions of power is like putting Anghar Qatel [a famous murder and child molester] in charge of an

orphanage. The choosing of these people was not because of their qualifications, but because of their insatiable appetite for power and their lack of human feeling and moral integrity. Those who had no power in the past have taken the fate of millions of people into their hands and have turned the country upside down on the basis of their own tastes and desires. Every one of them sees himself as Sultan and master. They have set up courts and assembled armies to protect their power. One of them created the revolutionary guard, another became commander of the guards of the revolution, the third one became head of the committees, the fourth one armed the riffraff downtown with rifles and clubs, and finally Bani Sadr, who was left empty-handed, attached himself to the army with effrontery and charlatanism. In short, since the Middle Ages, overlords have maintained armies and fought with each other in order to hang on to their assembled plunder and limit the power of their opponents.

One thing they have not paid any attention to at all during these two years is the interests of the country and the Iranian nation. The vitally important issues for the country, such as the hostages and the war, have become means to achieve personal aims. In the beginning, when they accused Bani Sadr of wanting to negotiate with the communists and the Americans (the leaders of the Islamic Republic do not make any distinction between the communists and the Americans, and the state of their historical knowledge is such that Khomeyni compares Carter with Stalin!) leading a band of cutthroats and bullies, he attacked the university and shot 300 prominent pilots out of fear being accused of plotting a coup d'etat, but after the outbreak of the war he turned to the army and the studnets in order to confront Beheshti and his cohorts. Beheshti, however, who was agreeable to the release of the hostages before the American elections, after Bani Sadr declared himself a champion of the army, out of fear that the release of Iranian assets and the resumption of trade would result in an increase in the army's strength, and that Bani Sadr would profit from the situation, with no regard for the outcome of the war, declared himself in opposition to the release of the hostages. With no regard for the army's resources--an army that has been decimated at the hands of him and his colleagues--he attacked the army in order to hit at Bani Sadr, while even in wartime the budget for arms purchases in the army goes into the bank accounts of Beheshti, Rafsanjani, and the rest of those selfish people. If people like Bazargan, Bani Sadr, and Qotbzadeh have taken up the issue of unwarranted executions, torture and imprisonment, it is not because of humanitarian feelings, but rather in order to strike out at the Islamic Republican Party. If this were not the case, these human rights advocates should have been protesting two years ago. When Khomeyni had just become intoxicated with blood and power and ordered that people be shot without trial on the roof of his headquarters, how could Mr Bazargan and his friends, who have been their breasts for the cause of human rights for years, bow down before Khomeyni, the Nero of the 20th century? Do the mollahs believe that the crimes of the Iranian military commanders were worse than those of the German Nazi party? Yet the Allies went to a great deal of trouble to organize the Nuremberg court for their trials, and although everyone in the world was aware of their countless crimes, the Allies gave them an opportunity to defend themselves. Were the crimes of the Shah of Iran's officials more numerous than Eichman's? The Jews searched for him for years, but when they found him, instead of tearing him to pieces in the manner of Khomeyni's justice(!), they took him to Israel and the killer of 5 million Jews was tried in the most just manner. Very well, Mr Bazargan and his dear colleagues, who have thrown their honor, prestige, and future to the wind in the service of a devil like Khomeyni, are not thinking of foreigners.

They only want to discredit their opponents in the name of torture, and their opponents, in order not to give their rivals an opening, quietly executed all the torture victims and destroyed the evidence of the crime! Meanwhile, Beheshti's errand boy, the Islamic Prime Minister, has taken a notion to attack the President of the Republic and has laid the blame for the homelessness of 1.5 million people in the South and West of the country on the shoulders of the Army. He thinks the Iranian Army ought to defeat Iraq in two days without weapons or a commander, and he authorizes the mollahs and his bloodthirsty revolutionary guards to plunder Iraq as well as Iran. An interesting point, however, is that throughout all these conflicts, the different groups, from those of Beheshti to those of Bani Sadr, never cease to praise the illustrious leader. They all know that they have no base of support at all among the people. They are only where they are at the pleasure of Khomeyni, for the strings that move these puppets are in his hands. Two years ago the Americans imagined that Khomeyni was a prejudiced old man who could be manipulated easily with the help of people like Yazdi, Qotbzadeh, and Bani Sadr, not knowing that this national devil had studied years earlier in the schools of the real devils, meaning the agents of the Intelligence Service, and in a short time had run the entire gamut. There was nothing left for the CIA's proteges to do but bow down before the great idol, prophet, and Imam of a policy of English colonization! Several days ago, Khalkhali, a former patient in the Chihrazi Mental Hospital, in an English television interview, said of differences between leaders of the Islamic Republic: These differences of opinion are to be found everywhere, even in the English Parliament. Khomeyni's executioner is mistaken, however. The conflicts between the leaders of the Islamic Republic are not conflicts between politicians. They are armed struggles between different factions of a criminal syndicate who have gone at each other's throats in order to get power. This group is organized exactly like the Mafia, and Khomeyni is the leader. If we take a look at the Mafia's past we see that its leaders have never been concerned with protecting the lives, the happiness, or the honor of innocent people. How can we expect members of the criminal syndicate of Iran, meaning the leaders of the Islamic Republic, to be thinking about the interests of the people and the nation? For this clan, hanging on to power is the only consideration, and the Iranian nation cannot be free without eliminating all these nobodies.

9310

CSO: 4906

FORMATION OF 'ANTI-IMPERIALISM FRONT' CONSIDERED A MUST

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 18 Jan 81 pp 1, 7

[Text] The danger of direct military attack by the American imperialism against Iran has gone beyond the phases of warning, threat, provocations and various conspiracies and now it has turned into such reality that the new White House spokesmen are not even afraid of disclosing the details of the plan for such an attack. The official spokesman and advisor of Reagan, the new president of America, announced: "Reagan must immediately after taking the position of the presidency give an ultimatum to Iran and ask Iran to free the hostages within 5 days. Otherwise we would declare war on Iran after discussion and consultation with the Congress."

The great propaganda machinery of America has started operation to prepare the public opinion of America and the world for a military attack against Iran and to render the decision of the American government justifiable and inevitable.

On the other hand, American war-seeking circles by virtue of Reagan's taking of the office have become more hopeful of realization of the aggressive plots against Iran and insist Reagan's administration to declare war on Iran and to initiate military operations against Iran.

In recent days, various American delegations have been visiting Near East and the Middle East countries. The purposes of these visits are the creation of a new military alliance composed of aligned countries in the areas, strengthening and expansion of the American military forces including Navy, Air Force and ground force in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean area, and creation of suitable conditions and circumstances for an extensive war operations in this area against Islamic Republic of Iran and other nations who are members of the Steadfastness Front.

Undoubtedly, Kissinger, the former American secretary of state, who again will have an active political role in the new White House administration, during the course of his visits to the countries of this area which began in Somalia and ended in Jerusalem, has discussed these issues with the leaders of the oppressive regimes of these countries.

The ever-increasing invasion of Southern Lebanon by the Israeli Zionists, Jordan's military threat against Syria, and concentration of Jordanian armed forces at the

border with Syria which is intended to prevent Syria from resisting Israeli attacks on Southern Lebanon and from giving assistance to the Palestine Liberation Organization is another circle of military conspiracies by American imperialism to instigate turmoil and create a focal point for armed conflicts in this area; so that a more favorable ground for a direct military attack by America against the Islamic Republic of Iran could be created. Continuation of the imposed invasive war by Saddam's criminal gang with Islamic Republic of Iran and simultaneously, frustration of the main military and political objectives of this invasion is another ground which persuades America to initiate military intervention in Iran.

Therefore, a defined arrayal of powers composed of the armed forces of America, The Zionist Regime of Israel, oppressive regimes allied with America including Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Oman and Pakistan has been created in the area against the Islamic Republic of Iran and the countries belonging to the Steadfastness Front.

Under such dangerous conditions, the Islamic Republic of Iran which has become the main target of direct military attack by America and its regional allies, in order to defend the revolution and the existence of the system of Islamic Republic of Iran, is obligated to expand its relations in all respects with the countries belonging to the Steadfastness Front. These relations should be converted into an effective factor to prevent implementation of the military invasion plan by America against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The recent visit of Hojjatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, head of the Islamic Consultative Assembly to the countries belonging to the Steadfastness Front (Algeria, Syria and Libya) and also Lebanon, which marked the beginning of a new chapter in the relations of Islamic Republic of Iran with the nations of this front, showed that some serious faults and irregularities have existed in Iran's foreign policy in connection with the countries belonging to the Steadfastness Front, which have been detrimental to both the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran. With respect to the readiness of these countries to cooperate with the Islamic Republic of Iran, Hojjatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani has stated: "The leaders of Algeria, Lybia and Syria thought that every kind of support should be given for continuation of the revolution and were ready to have every kind of strategic and tactical cooperation with us."

The countries belonging to the Steadfastness Front (Lybia, Syria, Algeria, Palestine Liberation Organization and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen) from the beginning decisively supported Iran's Revolution; and in order to expand their relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran and to support Iran's revolution in confrontation with American imperialism, stretched forth their helping hands and offered their entire means to the Islamic Republic of Iran. Regrettably in response to this support and manifestation of readiness for cooperation made by the nations belonging to this front, the liberal planners and enforcers of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the past, made every effort to "isolate" Iran's revolution from the progressive and anti-imperialist nations and forces.

Now, since a new chapter in Iran's relations with the nations belonging to the Steadfastness Front and generally in the foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran toward a realistic recognition of the friends and the enemies of both the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran has begun; and also with respect to the complicated and dangerous conditions created as a result of the conspiracies by American imperialism and its aggressive military plots against the Islamic Republic of Iran, the interests of the revolution and defense of the existence of the Islamic Republic of Iran require that the defined and prompt decisions be made for creation of an extensive alliance to include the Islamic Republic of Iran, the nations belonging to the Steadfastness Front, and other regional revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. Such alliance can harmonize all political activities and overall cooperations of the Islamic Republic of Iran with the nations belonging to the Steadfastness Front and can help to a fluent formation of an anti-imperialist front in this area. By the creation of such an alliance, we can better and more effectively resist against the conspiracies and plots for military intervention by American imperialism against the Islamic Republic of Iran and the nations belonging to the Steadfastness Front. Thus, the mission of these conspiracies could be aborted and plots of American imperialism for military intervention could be defeated. The nations belonging to the Steadfastness Front and the Palestine Liberation Organization who themselves are also involved in the battle against both American imperialism and the Zionist Regime of Israel, in case of increased conspiracies committed by the oppressive regimes of the area and the expansion and strength of American armed forces in the area which threatens their existence and independence, without a doubt profoundly understand the importance of the creation of such an alliance and as they have frequently emphasized, are fully prepared for all kinds of cooperation in every respect with the Islamic Republic of Iran. They will gladly welcome the suggestion of creating a united anti-imperialist front in the area. Interests of the revolution and defense of the existence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in these fatal moments require that the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran with clear sightedness and revolutionary determination make necessary decisions and take specific and clear actions.

9721

CSO: 4906

TWO FADA'IYAN GUERRILLA MEMBERS ON TRIAL

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 12 Jan 81 p 2

[Text] Yesterday, the religious court headed by Hojjatoleslam Mohammadi Gilani, began reviewing the files of Hamid Ja'fari and Manizheh Rajabi.

The two persons who were from Gha'em Shahr and belonged to the Fada'iyane Khalq guerrilla organization are being tried in Mahabad on charges of illegal departure from the country, possessing and carrying arms and ammunition, undergoing military training in Kirkuk garrison in Iraq, reading declarations against the Islamic Republic of Iran on Radio Iraq and possession of a safe house.

According to the indictment on 21 Shahrivar of this year [12 Sep] while patrolling the Tehran Autobahn, guard brothers became suspicious of a rental Mercedes. Upon searching the car, a bag containing men's and women's clothing, as well as two powerful bombs which belonged to the two occupants of the car named Hamid Ja'fari and Manizheh Rajabi were found in the trunk of the car. In another portion of the indictment, it was stated that after making a great deal of contradictory statements, Hamid Ja'fari, finally confessed that he was on route from Gha'em Shahr to Mahabad for the purpose of attending a lecture to be given by Ashraf Dehqan. He met Manizheh Rajabi on the way to Mahabad. She was even criticizing Ashraf Dehqan and believed that a firmer policy must be pursued against the government.

Because of possessing similar views, to a great extent, a close relationship developed between them and they planned to take a trip for undergoing military training under the auspices of George Habash. Subsequently they left for Lebanon accompanied by Hoseyn Ravaz whom they met in Mahabad. However, after crossing the Kurdish border into Iraq, they were at first, arrested by Ba'ath agents, but after a great deal of interrogation as it became clear that these people were opposed to the Islamic Republic of Iran and their objective was to carry out armed struggle against it, they were sent to Kirkuk garrison in order to undergo military training.

These three persons read declarations against the Islamic Republic of Iran on Radio Iraq.

After a while, these three people returned to Iran while carrying three powerful bombs and money handed to them by Iraqi security agents. Hamid Ja'fari utilized this money in obtaining a Colt hand gun, 25 bullets and five hand grenades and hid them in his yard in Qiam Shahr. After some time, Ja'fari returned to Mahabad and took the three bombs which were in Hoseyn Ravaz' possession, and took them to Tehran in order to destroy the Central Committee and other places, but they were arrested. At the end of the indictment statement it was indicated that a search of Ja'fari's house revealed a great many communist books and maps of various towns particularly of Kordestan and Gonbad.

9797

CSO: 4906

MOJAHEDIN, FADA'IYAN GROUPS 'INVOLVEMENT' CONDEMNED

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 12 Jan 81 p 2

[Text] According to reliable information in the wake of radio directives of America and Israel, imperialist elements have intended to create chaos in Tehran under cover of "reopening universities". American guidance commence at a time when, on the one hand, the Iraqi army is inflicting the most severe offensive to our fighting and self sacrificing forces of our Islamic homeland and on the other hand the revolutionary Raja'i government has not taken a step backwards in just Iranian demands from America. According to information received, the Marxist brance of "Mojahedin-e Khalq" led by Mussa Khiabani, Peykar Organization and "Razmandegan-e Rah-e Kargar" (seceded from Mojahedin Organization) and Fada'i'yan-e Khalq will be participating in this plot.

This operation will be executed under the cover name of Peykar Organization and the "Mojahedin" will take up the role of organizing the plot. Apparently, SAVAK and expelled experts have been contacted for executing this plot. During the past week, the Peykar group practiced two demonstrations which proved very unsuccessful and met with the firm resistance of the people.

It is being said that participation of a section of Mojahedin Organization in "tomorrow's" plot is being effectuated in order to bring closer lower elements of the organization (which are not yet aware of the secession and inclination toward Marxism of higher echelons) to the Peykar group and pave the way for direct Marxist propaganda, as in year 54 [21 Mar 75-20 Mar 76].

On the other hand it is being anticipated that if the conspiracy begins, SAVAK and American agents and elements will participate. It is certain that awareness and alertness of millions of Moslem and knowledgeable masses will neutralize the plot in its beginning. Firm and intelligent encounter of revolutionary institutions and alert resistance of Moslem and committed students and pupils with this plot, would demonstrate to these disgraced groups that the possibility of return of American to Iran does not exist. We declare now that these groups would try to find "Hamid Reza'i" types of people in order to taint their "yellow" conspiracy with "red" color and make the demonstration bloody. These servants of America must know that predestined fate of groups who stand against people is only annihilation.

During the last moments of our news gathering process yesterday, information was received that in this conspiracy, professors (of National Organization of University members) would be assuming significant roles and in backing "Khalq" elements they would endeavour in their immature minds, to abolish the cultural, revolutionary and university crusade headquarters and establish domination over universities so as to be better able to preserve the cultural heritage of America and other super powers.

TUDEH ORGAN DEFENDS USSR ARDENTLY

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 7 Feb 81 pp 1, 7

[Text] Colonel Fakuri, Minister of Defense and Commander of the Air Force of the Islamic Republic of Iran, said in an interview on 16 Bahman 1359 [5 February 1981] with the newspaper ENQELAB-E ESLAMI:

"Iraq has invaded our land on the instigation of two superpowers in the East and the West and with their help and support. Therefore our main enemies are these two superpowers, Russia and America, who have divided the world into two portions and who exploit nations. Neither of these two superpowers can accept an independent regime as a new front in the world. In this respect both Russia and America desire the collapse of the current regime in Iran."

It must be clearly stated that the Minister of Defense is mistaken. We are dismayed and amazed. Why does the Minister of Defense, who is a committed Moslem and a believer in the Islamic Republic of Iran and its leadership, and in such a sensitive and responsibility-laden post as well, make such a statement in contradiction with the official, explicit position of the leader of the revolution and other top officials in the Islamic Republic of Iran? How does Colonel Fakuri, who speaks as Minister of Defense of the Islamic Republic of Iran and not as an ordinary person, justify this position?

There are such great errors in Colonel Fakuri's remarks that they must be pointed out:

First - America has incited the Saddam regime to war against Iran, not "two superpowers in the East and the West", and it is America in all respects that has equipped and armed the Saddam regime along with its allies and its hand-picked agents. This reality has often been articulated by the leader of the revolution. For example, he has said: "It is the hand of America that comes out of Saddam's sleeve." The President of the Republic, the Speaker of the Majles, and the Imam Jom'eh of Tehran have often explained this also.

Second - America is the principal enemy of the people of Iran, and the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the truth is that since the very first days of the triumph of the Iranian revolution, America has used all of its resources to destroy the revolution and overthrow the Islamic Republic of Iran, and even now it has mobilized all its power to destroy the revolution and overthrow the Islamic

Republic of Iran. On the contrary, however, since the first day of the triumph of the revolution, the Soviet Union has loyally and firmly stood behind it, and it continues this loyal and firm defense.

Certainly Colonel Fakuri heard Imam Khomeyni when he said, among other things, "Our main enemy is America", "All of our entanglements come from America", "Direct all of your cries to America", "Direct your pens and your weapons toward America", and "America is the Great Satan". Certainly he hears the cries of millions of tormented people, who have lost their children to America's criminal plots, which they direct toward America and its agents? If so, then why does he say "our main enemies are these two superpowers, Russia and America" and "both Russia and America desire the collapse of the current regime in Iran"?

Third - "Collaboration of the superpowers" is a theory that America created. This is a great lie that America has created in order to distract the people's thoughts from its criminal plots. This is a great lie that the American imperialists have created in order to exonerate themselves and evade the people's anger. Thus, Colonel Fakuri, who says "Russia and America....have divided the world into two portions and they exploit nations" has most unfortunately fallen into the trap of this imperialist theory. Why should he fall into such a trap?

We hope our friendly and responsible observations will attract the serious consideration of the Minister of Defense and Commander of the Air Force.

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CSO: 4906

MOSCOW COMMENTS IN DEFENSE OF ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 2 Feb 81 pp 1,7,8

[Article: "The People of Iran, Who Have Made the Revolution, Have Shown the Entire World that They Are Prepared to Defend the True Path of the Revolution"]

[Text] In its 11 Bahman [31 January] program, Radio Moscow broadcast the following commentary on the second anniversary of Imam Khomeyni's return to the country:

"Two years ago, at the beginning of February 1979, Ayatollah Khomeyni returned to his country after 10 years of exile. Let's reconstruct the events of that time for ourselves. Two weeks had passed since the day of the Shah's cowardly flight from Iran. The Shah, prior to his flight, took the money he had stolen from the pockets of the people of Iran, and which was later declared the property of his family by the United States, and deposited it in his bank account in the United States. The Shah's regime was in the process of dying, and was doing its last criminal acts. The American television company CBS broadcast a tape of the Shah talking to the Chief of Staff just before the Shah's flight from Iran. This crowned hangman said: If you create an atmosphere of enmity and hate between the army and the people and give the order to the soldiers, they will fire without feelings of shame and kill the people, and you will be able to turn these two great forces against one another. A long civil war, which will begin as a result, will give us an opportunity to take counter measures and perhaps form a government with ostensible acceptability for the people.

The last head of the Shah's government was Shapur Bakhtiar, who had a shameful part in the bloody suppression of the people, who had risen up in revolutionary resistance. The Shah's despotic regime was dying, but the triumph of the revolution was near. The nullification of the dual-nationality government, Shapur Bakhtiar's flight from the country, dissolution of the SAVAK, removal of representation by American military advisors, alignment of the army with the revolution, the referendum, the proclamation of the Republic, withdrawal of Iran from the CENTO Pact, adherence to the non-aligned front, Iranian abstention from playing an imperialist police role in the Persian Gulf and the voiding of the Shah's agreements with America, were all in the offing.

In the beginning of February 1979, 5 million Iranians poured into the streets shouting "Death to the traitor Shah", "Death to American imperialism", "Yankees get out of Iran", and "No more American intervention".

At the Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery, where demonstrators had assembled to honor the memory of martyred fighters of the revolution, Ayatollah Khomeyni spoke and vigorously condemned American imperialist intervention in Iranian affairs and American support of the Shah's inhuman regime, and vigorously deplored the foulness of the oil cartels, who had plundered Iran's black gold. At that time, meaning two years ago, the hearts of patriotic Iranians were overflowing with hopes and desires arising from the revolution. That was a time when revolutionary fighters victoriously fought in the bunkers, and when soldiers aligned themselves with revolutionary fighters and decorated the barrels of their automatic rifles with carnations.

The two years that have passed since that time have not been easy ones for the people of Iran. The struggle against imperialist, reactionary, and counterrevolutionary plots aimed at bringing the Shah's government back has not stopped for an instant. The American imperialists, while trying to persuade Iran to deviate from the revolutionary path, which had been illuminated by the light of the heroic revolution, and to persuade the people of Iran to return to the imperialist political course and get them to submit to its commands and its dominance, expanded its military forces in the Persian Gulf and established new military bases near Iranian borders.

Threats against Iran were heard almost every day from Washington, including threats of war against Iran. Forces to invade Iranian soil are being trained in the United States itself as well as Israel and Egypt under conditions that are entirely similar to the natural terrain of the deserts and plains of Iran. The counterrevolution, led by Ashraf, Oveysi, Zahedi, and others like them, enjoys support on all sides on that side of the Atlantic. In short, now, just as two years ago, the American imperialists want to break the will of the Iranian people and to suppress their desire for freedom, democracy, and progress, but it is clear that the imperialists and their followers do not know that their plans regarding Iran are unworkable. The people of Iran, who have made the revolution, have shown the entire world that they are prepared to defend the true path of the revolution.

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CSO: 4906

BALUCHI LEADERS SAID TO BE 'PLOTING AGAINST REVOLUTION'

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 1 Feb 81 pp 1, 2

[Text] Tribal khans and counterrevolutionary agents in Sistan and Baluchestan are hatching plots against the anti-imperialist peoples revolution of Iran and are taking up arms against the revolution's attainments.

According to information we have, these khans, who were one of the mainstays of the oppressive Pahlavi government in the Baluchestan area, renewed their subversive activities in the area, step by step, a short time after the revolution because of the government's accommodationist policies. Among their counterrevolutionary activities, one may mention the formation of armed bands, highway robbery, incitement of conflict, and the killing of revolutionary guards and members of the Reconstruction Crusade.

At the present time these khans have joined together and have formed a so-called Baluchestan Liberation Front and have called for self-government! In this connection they have begun talks with the American hirelings Bakhtiar and Sultan Qabus. Some of the Khans who are members of this counterrevolutionary front are: Amanollah Mobareki (in charge of military training for the counterrevolutionaries), 'Alam Khan Mobareki, 'Isa Khan Mobareki (a deputy in the Shah's Majles), Mohammad Khan Lashari, Bahram Khan Shirazi, Cheragh Khan Shirazi, Bahram Khan Barzehi (leader of the Barzehi mercenary khans and a deputy in the Shah's Majles), Molarad Sardari Zahi, Mir'abdi Sardari Zahi, and Hajj Karimbakhsh Sa'idi.

The sphere of operations of these counterrevolutionary individuals is the regions of Chanf, Lashar, Saravan, and Chahbahar.

It must be explained that during the previous regime a number of Baluchis fought the accursed Shah under the name of a similar front, and that these plotting khans have coopted this front.

As we warn of the activities of these khans, who are really one of the American plots against the revolution, we call upon those responsible in this matter to rise up against them in serious opposition.

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CSO: 4906

BAZARGAN'S PAPER COMMENTS ON PROPAGANDA DELEGATIONS

Tehran MIZAN in Persian 18 Feb 81 p 2

[Text] During the last few days, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, the government has sent twenty Islamic propaganda delegations to foreign countries. Apparently the government authorities have recognized that after the end of the hostage incident and the political isolation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the sending of delegations abroad would be a solution and it would be able to change the international atmosphere for the Islamic Republic of Iran, especially since this year it was not possible to invite any foreign delegations to Iran for the week-long celebration of the second anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran due to the war imposed on Iran by Iraq--like it was last year. By the same token, it should be noted that the Iraqi aggression against Iran has neither been condemned by the international community, nor was it condemned in the foreign mass media, and this point indicates that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran must adopt a more constructive and definitive policy in the field of international relations. Contrary to what the Iranian nation sincerely desired, the conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries in its declaration pointed out the Iraqi aggression against Iran only in an indirect and reserved manner; however, it is well known that there were such possibilities that this conference could condemn this aggression in a decisive, direct, and striking manner.

Mr Haqqani, head of the Coordinating Council of World Propaganda for the Islamic Revolution, which managed the matter of sending the said delegations abroad, stated that the aims of the delegations which have been sent consist of the following: publicizing the Islamic Revolution; explaining and describing the principles of Iran's foreign policy; meeting with the authorities of these countries; making speeches; etc. However, regarding the make-up of the members of the delegations, their level of preparation, and their work program, various questions are being discussed which cast doubt on the possibility of achieving the aims of these delegations.

Each of the delegations has from five to ten members, and the head of each of them is appointed from among party notables or professors of the Ulema Assembly. For example: Messrs. Jala'eddin Farsi, Fakhreddin Hejazi, Parvaresh, Bahonar, Hojjaj-ol-Islam Hasheminezhad, and Haqqani... Also, according to statements of the Voice of the Islamic Republic, members of the delegations have been organized from persons of the Guard Corps, the Reconstruction Crusade, and workers of the

Imam's Propaganda Office--also, a news reporter has been sent out with every delegation. The head of each delegation is sent out with a diplomatic passport, and the members of the delegations are sent out with service passports. Therefore, these delegations are recognized as official missions of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and their affairs are considered within the framework of diplomatic relations and practices.

Regarding these facts, the first question which is to be discussed for the public is the criteria for selecting the heads and members of these delegations. For example: whether these people know at least a foreign language needed to carry out their urgent and important assignment; whether they have the necessary and sufficient knowledge of their area or assignment; or whether they think it is possible to carry out well such a mission as publicizing the Islamic Revolution without knowing the language, customs, social and political circumstances and usages of the country of their assignment.

Another question is what position and what relationship should the Coordinating Council of World Propaganda for the Islamic Revolution have vis-a-vis the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and which one of these two organizations has the responsibility of explaining the foreign policy positions of Iran in meetings with foreign statesmen. And finally there is the question of funds for these trips which are to be made by an average of about 150 persons, that is, from what organizations and what fund they have been secured, and to which government organizations the delegations are responsible. It has been said that seminars had been held earlier for coordination and familiarization with the government's foreign policy and the travel program for persons to be sent abroad; nevertheless, it seemed that the programs of the delegations were very uncoordinated at that time. For example: Mr Jalaleddin Farsi is meeting with the first deputy of Mr Brezhnev, Mr Hejazi is meeting with the Pope, but Mr Ahmad 'Azizi on his trip to France will only hold congregation prayers and a press conference in Nauphle-le-Chateau, and the delegation assigned to England is only to engage in holding an exhibition of pictures, etc.

So, it is clear that this work could have been performed easily even by a simple consulate official. Or whether sending such elaborate delegations to foreign countries in a hasty, unprepared, and helter-skelter manner has been carried out with the certainty of achieving sufficient results and study, and whether the Foreign Ministry itself could not have performed its legal duty, or whether this needs some extra backing. There is another side to the coin, and that's it.

CSO: 4906

STUDENTS ABROAD EYED TO EXPORT REVOLUTION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Jan 81 p 6

[Text] Two years have now passed since the splendid Iranian Islamic revolution led by Imam Khomeyni. Due to numerous domestic difficulties, our foreign-oriented propaganda aimed at exporting the revolution has been very weak. Of course the Islamic revolution has the unsparing support of the oppressed masses in other Moslem nations, and many of them have announced their readiness to fight shoulder to shoulder with their Moslem brothers on the war front against Saddam's infidel army. Most importantly, many of these Moslem brothers are busy studying in western countries such as the United States, Britain, France, Sweden and others, having fled from the dictatorial governments in their own countries. They are completely ready and willing to emigrate to Islamic territory and to undertake a jihad and sacrifice all they have in this path as a religious duty.

Meanwhile, traitor Saddam is busy spreading propaganda on a very wide scale in the western countries. He has spent millions of dollars on propaganda in Europe, instances of which follow:

Saddam's Propaganda Activities

- A - Making preparations for the construction of an enormously expensive mosque in Birmingham, England in order to spread Saddam's brand of Islam.
- B - Gathering and hiring experts in medical, military, aviation and industrial fields from western countries at very high wages.
- C - Sending publications and tapes of Saddam's speeches to all the Arabs residing in Europe in order to spread 'Arab' culture.

Several suggestions are offered below for attracting non-Iranian experts who believe in the Islamic revolution, and for exporting the revolution.

Actions to Export the Revolution

- 1 - Creating well-organized institutions to attract committed non-Iranian Moslems and experts committed to and believing in the Islamic revolution to build a model Islamic society.

This action will cause the Iranian Islamic revolution to emerge from its Iranian Islamic state, and attain wider, world-wide dimensions. At the same time the effects from propagandizing this action will be extremely beneficial.

Additionally, Moslems who participate in the revolution in this way will consider themselves members of the revolution. They will carry the souvenir of their many experiences with them when they return to their countries, and this will valuably aid the export of the revolution.

2 - In order to internationalize the Islamic revolution it is necessary to become precisely informed about all other Islamic groups and movements active in other Moslem countries, and to establish close relations with them.

Our brothers and sisters abroad are acquainted and have contacts with many of the groups having Islamic activities in the west and in the United States. Therefore, the experience of our brothers and sisters can be used to the highest degree in spreading Islam outside Iran.

There are a very large number of Moslem student brothers and sisters, most of whom are doing research in technical and engineering fields, whose projects and research are unfortunately aimed at benefitting and supplying the needs of western and imperialistic countries. Therefore efforts must be made to use their expertise to supply the needs of this country and to move the Islamic republic into the stage of self-sufficiency.

The greatest possible use of these great forces can be made if the following actions are carried out.

A - Establishing a center to collect information concerning the country's needs in various areas and placing it at the disposal of brother and sister students abroad.

B - Preparing a photographic or other sort of exhibition to keep students abroad informed of the latest inventions and advances taking place in Iran. To this end, foreign branch offices of the Reconstruction Crusade can be founded.

C - Collecting plans proposed from abroad, and placing them at the disposal of officials in Iran.

D - Use of well-known radio programs in order to publicize these kinds of inventions and plans, thereby encouraging students in this regard.

4 - In light of Pakistan's recent steps to found a great Islamic university, and in light of the reactionary nature of Pakistan's regime, it is necessary to neutralize the great satan's plots. Since the Islamic Republic is the only country which has undertaken a cultural revolution on a wide, Islamic scale, it is also necessary that the Staff of the Cultural Revolution design a plan so that the universities can accept students in various fields from all Islamic countries.

Efforts should also be undertaken to found a great Islamic university.

5 - Due to the fact that the world's Moslem nations have constantly been a sure support of the Islamic revolution, and have often announced their readiness to participate in a jihad against the infidel army, the Islamic Republic must devote necessary efforts to the creation of a united Islamic front in order to give military, political and ideological training to these Moslem brothers.

9597

CSO: 906

SUSPICIOUS TRAFFIC ACROSS TURKISH BORDER DISCUSSED

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 23 Feb 81 p 5

[Text] KEYHAN Provincial Service -- In an interview with the Governor-general of the Province of Western Azarbaijan, conducted by the KEYHAN correspondent in the Salmas area, he was asked about security in the province; purges in various offices; division of land; the problem of over-staffing in government agencies and the issue of over-charging and hording. Following is the text of the interview:

Question: Governor, in view of the political atmosphere in the area, what promises do you hold for the people of Salmas?

Answer: I am certain the promise you are referring to is in connection with the security in the area. The issue is now being considered and during our recent visit to the area we discussed the issue and reached certain decisions which will soon be implemented, God willing... and the security in the area will be assured.

Question: What is your opinion about conditions in government agencies, especially in the education department where most of the corrupt and the old-timers belonging to the old regime still hold positions?

Answer: Concerning the clean-up of government agencies, be it the department of education or somewhere else, you already know that a bill was submitted to the Islamic Consultative Assembly. I believe that it is about to be approved. After it is approved and sent to government for implementation actions will be taken to purge all agencies and get rid of those found unqualified.

Question: Concrete bunkers are being constructed along Turkish border that could pose real threat. What is the government going to do to face this possible threat?

Answer: This was discussed in our visit to Turkey. This was one of the issues on which we put a special emphasis. The Turkish government has been trying to exercise more control over its borders with Iran, especially in the areas where suspicious crossings had been taking place. In order to establish a tighter control over its borders, the Turkish government has decided to build a number of control

posts for her border guards, especially in the areas where the cold season lasts longer. They have already constructed a number of these border posts. They explained to us that their purpose was nothing else but to have a tighter control of their borders. They noted that they had been supporting the Islamic Republic of Iran and will continue to do so, and that we should be concerned about the new border watch posts and that they posed no threat to us.

Question: Governor, what are your views about plans by the feudals for causing conflict in the area and providing arms to the Democrats?

Answer: Well, this issue is related to the problem of security in the area which I referred to earlier and said that we had devised plans that will soon be implemented. Another issue is involved, which is related to the problem of land division. Plans approved by the Revolutionary Council should be once again reviewed and then passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly. The dividing of lands, therefore, was stopped and now we are waiting for the approval of the bill by the Assembly after which proper actions will be taken.

Question: What plans do you have for the elimination of unemployment in the area?

Answer: I must point out that further government employment is not possible at this time. Beside, the government's need is not so acute as to employ anybody who wants a job and place him in government agencies. It was the policy of the old regime to employ people and place them in various departments regardless of the need. The result of that kind of policy was that most agencies became overstaffed and we are now forced to return all those who have reached retirement age. Those who lack qualification will soon be purged by the Purge Commission, and those who are not efficient enough will be put to work in various productive and agricultural projects. So, government employment in its previous manner is no longer possible. We are trying to find jobs for the unemployed through other channels, such as devising various development, agricultural, productive and industrial projects. This, of course, should be considered as a commitment by the government. There should be jobs so that people with expertise and the ability to work could be put to work. There are road-building projects in rural areas, along with various industrial projects, implemented by the Center for the Expansion (of industries), a number of which have already been implemented and will continue in 1360 [21 Mar 81 - 20 Mar 81]. In the northern parts of the province vast pieces of land and water resources are available for agriculture the use of which could satisfy the needs of the country and of the province and, at the same time, provide jobs for the people.

Question: What are your plans for combatting price-racketeering and hoarding which are the sources of public dissatisfaction?

Answer: These issues had been discussed before my coming here. It is natural that greedy and opportunist individuals will do their best to take advantage of the situation for their own benefit and thus create problems for the Islamic society. They should be permitted to do so. It could best be done by the people themselves.

People should learn to do things themselves and not wait for some guardian to act for them. We must get complete control and stand on our own feet and plan the regional work ourselves. People should not stand aside as spectators and expect others to act on their behalf. Thus, responsibilities lie with the local people themselves and with the members of various trades in the region. They should set up a committee or a council, made up of committed and devoted Moslems, acting according to the standards adopted by the police, the committee, the corps and other forces in the area and decide on how to fight the profiteers and the speculators. This way, they can control these people (profiteers and horders) and present them to marshals and in turn, will be sent to courts. This way, hording and profiteering could be controlled.

9561

CSO: 4906

ARMED TRIBESMEN RALLY FOR SECURITY OF LORESTAN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 8 Mar 81 p 6

[Interview with Governor Husayn Mahluji, date and place not given]

[Text] Provincial Service. "By parading an armed force of 20,000 Moslem tribesmen before high-ranking authorities of the country and thousands of the people of Khorramabad, we have really demonstrated the security of the province of Lorestan."

This is one of the remarks Engr Husayn Mahluji made in a conversation with a KEYHAN reporter.

In this conversation, while answering some questions the press had written saying that the security of Lorestan is in danger and it is possible that it may become a second Kordestan, Engr Mahluji stated: "With a party of 20,000 armed men before the prime minister, the cabinet, and governors from all over the country who had come to Khorramabad to attend the meetings of the ministers and governors, and while tens of thousands of the people of Khorramabad have rallied around them like a boundless crowd of people not letting the Moslem tribesmen form ranks, and at the same time there has not been even the slightest confrontation, and no blood has been seen spilled, then how can it be said and written that there is no security in Lorestan?"

Don't the newspapers which write that there is no security in Lorestan see this great gathering of armed tribesmen that have gathered to protect and sacrifice their lives for the Islamic Republic? This is the answer to those who say there is no security in Lorestan.

At this point, while criticizing the press for not reflecting the events such as the gathering of the Moslem tribes of Lorestan, the governor of Lorestan said: "Why do the newspapers report the smallest news items or events such as the clash of a few students in a school in bold headlines but brush aside this kind of gatherings backing the Islamic Revolution?"

When asked whether the main perpetrators of these events in Khorramabad had been identified or not and what measures had been taken in this respect, the governor of Lorestan stated: "This problem is being investigated by the Islamic Revolutionary Court, and its executors are those of the Revolutionary Guard Corps."

Engr Mahluji added: "Inasmuch as we can constantly advise that the rule of law be established in the area, therefore, we are not interfering in the judicial function."

Stressing the security of this province, the governor of Lorestan said: "Clashes have occurred in Lorestan, but they are not limited to this province, but such plots are taking place all over the country--most of which are instigated by political groups."

While explaining this statement, the governor said: "As an example: How long can the people of Lorestan go on witnessing their young men becoming martyrs on the battlefronts while political groups are plotting in their cities."

Pointing out the plots of the superpowers to strike down the Iranian Revolution, the governor of Lorestan said: "We are not worried about these plots; as long as the people are behind this revolution there is no danger to threaten it. An example of that also was that by a brief invitation over the radio, Moslem tribes from the whole province--despite their shortage of gasoline and fuel--came to Khorramabad. With this action, we are able to show all the mercenary agents of both East and West that if a nation exerts its will, it is able to cut their roots quickly. We showed that there is such power behind this revolution. This is the answer we give to all those who say that the people have separated from the revolution."

Here while pointing out the situation of the tribes of the area and the plans which have been prepared to improve their lives, the governor of Lorestan said: "Programs have been considered at the national level to improve the lives of the tribes, and in the province of Lorestan also, 200 million toman have been allocated for this work."

While stressing the urgency to carry out Paragraph "T" of this plan to transfer land, Engr Mahluji stated: "Of course, in Lorestan the land situation is not in such acute shape as in other places; nevertheless, we want the competent authorities to solve this situation immediately."

CSO: 4906

AFGHAN REFUGEES WELL RECEIVED BY PAKISTAN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 29 Jan 81 p 10

[Text] Pakistan is settling the world's largest number of refugees on its soil. Afghan refugees either fled or were expelled from Afghanistan after the first Marxist coup d'etat on 27 April 1978 in which Mohammad Daud, the president, was killed and Nur Mohammad Taraki came to power.

The extreme and pathological attention given radical change, in reality hasty social and economic reforms for a deeply conservative and religious people, and then severe suppression, was the point at which the crossing of the Durand Line began. (The Durand Line is an international boundary with Pakistan which was determined when the English General Durand was governor of Afghanistan).

Quarrelsome Coup D'Etats

Instead of peace and order, one coup d'etat after another enveloped Kabul. Nur Mohammad Taraki, president of Afghanistan, had been in power for less than a year when the second coup d'etat occurred on 16 September 1979. Taraki was murdered at the hands of Hafizollah Amin, deputy prime minister, a Marxist of the Khalq wing.

Amin's turn came three months later on 27 December 1979. On Christmas day the aggressor Soviet forces descended on Afghanistan "at the invitation of the government of Afghanistan," and by murdering Amin, put Babrak Karmal in power, a Marxist they had brought with them from Eastern Europe.

Karmal belongs to the Parcham wing of the Democratic Party of Afghanistan. The continual disputes between the various wings, the bloodspilling and finally the Soviet invasion and the resistance of the Afghan people incited the uprising and revolt of the Afghan people, resulting in a greater number of Afghans immigrating to Pakistan.

Number of Refugees

That which had been a drop in 1978 became a sea in 1980. According to Pakistan government figures which were published by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, more than 1,065,967 Afghan refugees had entered Pakistan by 31 August 1980. •

They settled in two Pakistani states bordering Afghanistan. Exact figures on the refugees in various regions show: Baluchistan, with 83,926, the northern regions with 165,233, the Punjab with 2,440, Sind with 22,157 and Free Kashmir with 1,289 persons.

In the view of officials, in addition to the above number who have officially registered, there are about 30,000 Afghan refugees living in Pakistan who have not taken the trouble to register.

These individuals are living with family members or their acquaintances in Pakistan or are at work putting their vehicles and cattle to use. Some of the refugees are from the Puyenda tribe.

From time immemorial the caravans of the Puyenda tribe have set out from the heights of Afghanistan to the warm regions of Pakistan during the severe winters, and have returned to their own lands in the spring of the year.

According to the statement of one government spokesman, the Puyenda tribe which entered Pakistan last winter "has not yet returned to its original country" this year.

Pakistan Supports the Refugees

The huge arrivals of Afghan refugees in Pakistan has confronted the Pakistan government with shortages.

However, helping these people, large numbers of whom are old men, women and children, is unavoidable.

The people of Afghanistan share a common race, language, culture and religion with the people in the border states of Pakistan. Thus, at the beginning the government of Pakistan provided shelter and services to the refugees. The government daily gave nearly \$0.50 to each person, and medical treatment, tents and flour as well.

Until the beginning of 1979 the government of Pakistan paid about \$80,000 daily as the cost of keeping the refugees on its soil.

However, as a result of the intensity of the battles of the army and Soviet aggressor forces with the Afghan Mojahedin throughout the country, and the flood of refugees from Afghanistan, a very large problem was created for the Pakistani government. Therefore the government of Pakistan requested help from the people of its own country and other countries, and particularly from the United Nations High Commission on Refugees.

The Pakistani people have generously donated aid to the Fund for Afghan Refugees which was set up by the president. By 29 September 1979, \$26 million had been deposited in this fund. The International Society has also made assistance available to Pakistan for confronting this human problem.

The United Nations High Commission on Refugees, after on-the-spot research and fact-finding missions, decided to collect \$55 million. In order to reach this goal it requested aid from countries across the globe. However, with the deluge of refugee arrivals in the first six months of 1980, it was necessary to reexamine the United Nations' suggestion in June 1980.

Thus the High Commission on Refugees tried to collect \$100 million for the Afghan refugees, \$50 million of which was for the cost of feeding them. Despite the fact that the sum above has not yet been collected, considerable financial aid has been donated by Arab countries, the United States, western Europe, Japan, Australia and Canada.

Similarly, volunteer organizations have come to Pakistan's aid. Among these organizations are: The Children's Support Fund, the International Organization for Medical and Social Assistance, the German World Freedom and Hunger Organization, and World Church Services.

Problems

That which makes the matter difficult is that contrary to other refugee centers, the Afghan refugees are not established in traditional camps. Due to the tribal customs which they have brought with them from their own society, the Afghan refugees have gathered in groups of 200 to 500 persons separate from each other. In addition, since they are not used to Pakistan's climate, they turn towards the valleys in winter and the hills in summer.

In order to eliminate administrative problems, the Pakistani government has encouraged the refugees to settle in tent villages which have 5,000 inhabitants on the average.

About 87 tent cities have been set up. One of the undesirable effects of the Afghan refugees is their unemployment and anticipation of an uncertain future.

In order to occupy the refugees, the Pakistani government has started up rug weaving, a traditional enterprise of the Afghan people, in several villages. Furthermore in some of the villages elementary schools are hard at work.

Refugees with money and possessing transportation and cattle have gone to other states in Pakistan for employment. Local inhabitants are upset over their presence on the labor market.

Some of the refugees are trying to leave for other countries. As an example, the U.S. embassy in Pakistan announced that Afghan refugees can travel to the United States.

Up till the beginning of October 1980 about 1,600 Afghans had officially requested permanent residence in the United States. However, in the view of U.S. officials, only a very small number of them receive residence visas.

The Pakistani government's program for the Afghan refugees is based on the principle of their return to their native land. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of 40 Islamic Countries in its two sessions of January and May, 1980, adopted a resolution based on the creation of necessary conditions for the honorable and safe return of the refugees to Afghanistan.

The above resolution was announced and affirmed by Zia-ul-Haq, president of Pakistan, during a speech to the United Nations General Assembly at the beginning of October of last year.

Most observers, taking the internal conditions of Afghanistan into consideration, believe that the Afghan refugees will not return to the country in the near future and will be in Pakistan for a long time.

9597

C80: 4906

FOREIGN PHARMACEUTICAL FIRMS TO BE NATIONALIZED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 22 Jan 81 p 3

[Article: "From the Ministry of Health: Names of Foreign Pharmaceutical Firms to be Nationalized Announced"]

[Text] All foreign pharmaceutical firms will soon be nationalized and be placed under government control. A great many primary pharmaceutical raw materials will also be procured in our country from now on and imports will be controlled by the government. Distribution of pharmaceuticals will also be done henceforth by 5 government companies.

Drs Nik Nezhad, deputy Minister of Health, Nilforushan, General Manager of the Sherkat-e Sahamiye Darupakhsh (Pharmaceutical Distribution Company) and Supervisor of Tolid Daru (Pharmaceutical Production) group in the Ministry of Health, and Zulfaqqari, Chairman of the Primary Materials Committee in the Ministry of Health, announced these matters in an exclusive interview with the PARS NEWS SERVICE. Dr Nilforushan began by discussing the state of pharmaceutical industries in Iran: Prior to the revolution, pharmaceutical industries in our country were entirely dependent on the West, and since the principal investor in these industries was the private sector, their preference was to produce various kinds of specialized medicines rather than the primary ingredients. He added: Iranian pharmaceutical production prior to the revolution amounted to 28 percent of consumption. The remaining 72 percent was imported from abroad. Of this amount, 10 percent was of purely Iranian ownership, and the remainder of the investing was done by foreign factories or factories under license. Dr Nilforushan also added: After the revolution, in order to get away from dependence the government concentrated on procuring the primary ingredients necessary for production of pharmaceuticals within Iran, and also on increasing the level of production of various drugs.

Prohibition of Drugs

Dr Nilforushan stressed: We were confronted with the fact that after the revolution foreign pharmaceutical firms tried to reduce production of basic drugs, to create obstructions, and were uncooperative in the manufacture of pharmaceuticals. For this reason the Ministry of Health decided to send inspectors to these institutions, and on the basis of these inspectors' reports it was proven that these firms were damaging pharmaceutical production. Therefore, in Khordad 1359 [22 May - 21 June 1980], with the approval of the Revolutionary Council, the management of foreign

firms was brought under government control. Dr Nilforushan also added: Contrary to all the propaganda from Western countries concerning the non-prohibition of medicines, these countries, by creating various problems, made the export of medicine to our country practically impossible. He emphasized: An important point is that foreign companies did not in any way bring drug manufacturing techniques into Iran, and even the 100 percent Iranian factories had more sophisticated techniques. Not only did these companies fail to import capital into Iran, but they even added various expenses onto the price of the drugs they manufactured while utilizing credit from Iranian financial institutions. Most important of all, they did not manufacture any basic medicines within Iran. They imported drugs of this type, and always threatened us with a cutoff of their importation. In the same regard, Dr Nik Nezhad, deputy Minister of Health, said: Based on the decision by the High Council of the Investment and Technical and Economic Assistance Support Organization of Iran, affiliated with the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, foreign companies will be nationalized in the near future.

Concerning other measures by the Ministry of Health to obtain medicines, Dr Nik Nezhad said: With the formulation of a fundamental plan and the help of committed pharmacists and doctors, a generic project has been set in motion in the Ministry of Health, on the basis of which 570 chemical formulas, which encompass around 1000 drugs and include all the basic medicines, will be manufactured in Iran. All drug imports will be controlled by the Sahami State Drug Company.

Dr Nik Nezhad announced the names of the foreign manufacturers to be nationalized as follows: Bayer Faizer Hukhst - "Brolimed" - Baxter - Organun - Park-Davis - Mark Lederly - "Su'iran" - Squibb - Tehran Chemical - "Laviti" - Chemco.

Dr Nilforushan also discussed the matter of drug distribution, saying: Drug distribution in the past was done by centers that were not answerable to anyone. This type of distribution posed the danger of the disappearance of drugs and their not reaching remote areas. For this reason the Pharmaceutical Staff in the Ministry of Health decided that the distribution of medicine throughout the country would be carried out by 5 government or government-affiliated companies. Also, therefore, from now on 65 percent of all drugs will be distributed in the provinces and 35 percent in Tehran.

Concerning the procurement of pharmacists in the country, Dr Nik Nezhad, deputy Minister of Health, said: In the drug manufacturing branch of the Cultural Revolution Staff, a group of physicians is studying the method of teaching pharmacy in the pharmacy colleges. This study is being made from the point of view that in the future the pharmacist should be at the service of the people, should have a direct hand in giving drugs to the patient, and should be employed in treatment units as a pharmacist. In the future also, the country's pharmaceutical industry will enjoy a standing of high prominence.

He added: When they open, the country's medical and pharmaceutical schools will be Concerning the shortage of medicine in the country, Dr Nik Nezhad said: Attempts have been made in the matter of production and provision to reduce the shortage of vital and necessary medicines to a minimum, but luxury and secondary medicines do not matter. Henceforth, our drug manufacturing system will concentrate on producing basic drugs.

Concerning the procurement of medicine needed by our combat soldiers who are fighting at the front in the war imposed by the Iraqi hireling regime, Dr Nik Nezhad said: The Ministry of Health is committed to providing medical units at the front and behind the front with as much medicine as possible for the wounded. In this regard, the order of priorities will be the front, the rear echelons, the hospitals, and pharmacies.

Also, with cooperation from the Assistance to the Wounded and Injured Staff in the Ministry of Health, all resources, equipment, and medicines will be made available to war victims. A separate budget has been allocated to the Sherkat-e Sahamiye Daruyi-e Keshvav State Pharmaceutical Company for this purpose.

Dr Zulfaqqari, chairman of the Primary Materials Committee of the Ministry of Health, said concerning procurement of the primary materials used in drug manufacture: The most important problem in cutting off our pharmaceutical industry's dependence on the West was the procurement of primary materials. One must remember that before the revolution not even 1 percent of the primary materials was obtained in Iran.

He added: For this purpose, a committee composed of experts and teachers in the country's universities in the field of research and study on the production of primary materials has been formed in the Ministry of Health, and various stages of preliminary studies and tests and production of primary materials have begun.

He added: In the Primary Materials Production Department of Daru Pakhsh the production stage has been reached for 12 kinds of primary materials, and it is hoped that by the end of the year 1360 [20 Mar 1982] this will have reached around 60 kinds of materials. Concerning the standards for these materials, Dr Zulfaqqari said: With advanced tests of these materials, the quality of the primary materials produced in Iran will rival those made in the West.

Concerning the manner in which the Ministry of Health will cooperate with foreign countries in the matter of producing primary materials needed by pharmaceutical industries, Dr Zulfaqqari said: Cooperation is taking place now in this area with Eastern European and third world countries.

9310

CSO: 4906

CURRENCY REGULATIONS ANNOUNCED FOR STUDENTS IN THE U.S.

Tehran KEYHAN AIRMAIL EDITION in Persian 21 Jan 81 p 1

[Text] KEYHAN Cultural Service - Complete files on the finances of 2 thousand Iranian students in America were turned over to the Organization of Student Affairs by the Algerian Embassy. On 27 Dey [17 January] they will be issued permits to send funds abroad. Dr Reza Bassiri, Director of the Organization of Student Affairs, talked about the results of his work during his tenure as Director of the Organization, the problems that exist, how money would be sent to students, and answered questions from reporters at a press conference.

Concerning the problems of this organization, he said: Evaluation of transcripts from foreign countries is a concern that has always created numerous problems. In researching them we evaluated the documents on several levels. For example, one person might be given a bachelor's degree for certain work while the same work was considered equivalent to a master's degree for another. Concerning the elimination of this problem, Dr Bassiri said: We have asked the ministries, offices, and revolutionary bodies to tell this organization about committed people who have studied abroad and who are aware of the educational situations in those countries, so that we can form a commission in cooperation with these people and study the foreign transcripts and evaluate all of them. Then we can give the results to the Cultural Revolution Staff for confirmation. In the meantime for this reason the documents evaluation office of this organization will not evaluate documents from outside the province until its responsibilities are specified.

The Director of Student Affairs also explained about the organization's currency office, and while enumerating day-to-day problems he said: According to statistics around 120 thousand people took currency out of Iran as students. In order to control them we have asked Iranian students in America to send us the documents they have pertinent to their status as students, but out of around 60 thousand people, only 30 thousand have done this. The result of our study suggests that we should control all people who use our money.

He then discussed violations found in this study, saying: Out of 10 thousand people whose documents have come to us from the Algerian Embassy we have found more than 100 people whose documents were forged with embassy or university seals, and also 1000 people who had sent money from two different places. Concerning documents that Iranian students in America have submitted to the Algerian Embassy which have not as yet reached the organization, Dr Bassiri said:

Several thousand files have reached the organization, of which 2 thousand are complete with these documents. The parents of these students can come to the organization and obtain a permit to send money for the second half of this year anytime after Saturday 27 Dey [17 January].

WINTER ANTICIPATED TO BE 'SEASON OF VICTORY'

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 12 Jan 81 p 11

[Text] In the era when the revolution was reaching its peak, the wounded regime of the traitor Shah was making its final struggle and was planning to strengthen the shaky foundation of his government through the aid of American Imperialism and support of other superpowers in order to be saved from being toppled. To accomplish this purpose, it took every action and committed every crime, but cleverness and the solid unity of various classes of people on one hand and the Imam's decisive leadership on the other hand, removed all the obstacles one by one and paved the path for the revolution.

In late 57 [1978], meaning in the season of cold and freeze, when the living conditions of our heroic people were getting tighter and right when the times and conditions were most difficult, the aroused people with the least means, inflicted the most effective blow upon the decaying corpse of the monarchy and on 22 Bahman [11 Feb], completely destroyed the weak foundation of the imperial government.

Despite the passage of more than three months since the inception of the imposed war between the puppet regime of Baghdad and the Army of Islam, the mercenary regime of Iraq has committed the most terrifying crimes against Iran in the history of our country. Iraq has made every effort to topple the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Despite the fact that all the superpowers with their radios and their press aided by their domestic agents, through creating internal turmoil, have made them face numerous problems, we are witnessing that the Army of Islam, these devoted and faithful brave people are inflicting the heaviest blows on the infidel army and once more ignited the sparks of hope in the hearts of the oppressed people of the world, particularly the people of occupied Palestine and Southern Lebanon. Now, because of God's mercy, the victory is near and in addition to the militant nation of Iran, especially the refugee fellow citizens who have become hopeful for a final victory, the Moslem nation of Iraq is also finding itself close to establishing freedom, independence and an Islamic Republic. Inspiring news is being heard everyday from Iraq indicating that in the near future we will be witnessing the overthrow of Saddam's regime. However, on the verge of the final victory, inspired by our fully dignified revolution, there are some points which in the future could play a very sensitive and guiding role in the victory of the two Moslem and brother nations of Iran and Iraq; they are briefly stated as follows:

1. One of the factors in the victory of Iran's Islamic Revolution, was the issue of leadership and during the course of the revolution we constantly witnessed how all the revolutionary forces were impelled to one direction and on this basis the revolution reached the victory. This issue had been well analyzed by the enemies of the revolution, particularly by American Imperialism and by infidel Saddam the Yazid [an enemy of Islam who caused Imam Hosseyn to be martyred]. Now, having given these prefatories, the questions set forth are: How to keep Iraq's young revolution growing and prevent waste of effective revolutionary forces; how to get the masses involved and how to prevent infliction of thwarting strikes by the foes of Islam upon Iraq's young revolution.

For resolving this problem, this time as usual we get inspiration from our leader's words that: It was the clergy who gathered all the people. Aided by the Imam's guidance, this problem is quite solvable; as reminded before, Saddam had also learned this fact and for this reason, at the beginning of the mobilization of Iraq's masses, he martyred Imam Sadr, the greatest spiritual leader who could have had an effective role in accomplishing Iraq's revolution. These committed and militant clergymen of Iraq, particularly those in the theological school of Najaf, have a crucial task, and could, by moving Iraq's massive forces toward one direction, that is the Imam's line, save the Moslem nation of Iraq from the taint of Saddam's agents and destroy the foundation of their government which is decaying due to heavy blows inflicted by the brave Islamic militants.

2. At this point, following the preliminary victory of the heroic Iranian forces over Iraq's hireling army, we should not ignore the case of Ahad's war at the inception of Islam. Of course what history has shown has always been indicative that blood is on the victor's sword. However, we should not forget the Imam's statement that we are all at the presence of God and subject to examination. In fact this victory is precisely the test that has been considered by God for our oppressed nation and our militant forces. At this point it must be remembered that there are some people who are planning to use this victory for their own personal, collective and official benefits and by causing splits among the concentrated lines of our militant and noble people and prolong reaching final victory. Our honest nation must be quite conscious and prevent the commission of this inauspicious conspiracy because this victory does not belong to any particular individual, group or office, rather it belongs to every single individual of this oppressed and martyred nation. The conspirators must be aware that any insult and disrespect to this victory amounts to treason to our nation, officials and to our militant forces who have been honestly serving the Islamic way since the inception of the war. Of course, based on this case, the role of clergymen and their leadership in reaching the victory is well observed. Once more we touched the profound bond between the Islamic forces and the militant clergymen and saw how the devoted soldiers of Islam, by responding positively to Ayatollah Montazeri's call to attack the infidel army, attacked the heart of the aggressor enemy.

3. What is certain, is that these attacks and offences by Islam's valiant soldiers should be more frequently continued because in addition to the enemy being extremely weak, this is the wish of the pained, stricken by the war and refugee people of Iran which has been repeatedly expressed by the People's Imam and the great jurisprudent Ayatollah Montazeri and also by the marches of millions of people. The militants should be aware that the people's Imam emphasized that this noble and devoted nation, like in the past, will support them through the continuation of their path.

IRAQI-SPANISH TALKS RESULT IN JOINT STATEMENT

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 13 Jan 81 p 7

[Joint Iraqi-Spanish Statement Issued Following the Official Visit to Spain by 'Izzat Ibrahim, Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council]

[Text] At the invitation of the Spanish government, 'Izzat Ibrahim, Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council in the Iraqi Republic, paid an official visit to Spain from 12 to 14 January, 1981. He and the delegation accompanying him were received very warmly and hospitably in the spirit that reflects the historical relations of mutual friendship and cooperation that bind the two peoples together.

During his presence in Madrid, 'Izzat Ibrahim, Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, was received by his majesty King Don Juan Carlos I, and he conducted talks with Spanish Premier Adolfo Suarez. At the same time, Hassan 'Ali, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and minister of Trade in the Iraqi Republic, held talks with Juan Antonio Garcia Diez, the Spanish Minister of Economy and Commerce. Working sessions were also held between Hamid 'Alwan, the Iraqi Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Spanish Foreign Minister Jose Pedro GarciaLlorca.

Iraq's Arab and International Role Praised

In an atmosphere of candor and mutual understanding, talks were held between the two sides on the development of bilateral relations and the international situation, especially with reference to Western Europe, the Arab region and the Arabian Gulf.

The two sides expressed their satisfaction with the excellent status of their bilateral relations and their desire to continue to promote these relations in line with their close links in all fields that bind the two peoples together. They emphasized their desire to deepen and expand the spheres of economic, scientific, technical and other cooperation in the interest of the two countries.

The Spanish side highly praised the economic and social achievements which have been accomplished in Iraq under the leadership of President Saddam Husayn. It also lauded the role President Saddam Husayn is playing in the Arab and international spheres. In that regard, the Spanish side stressed its interest in the nationalist declaration President Saddam Husayn proclaimed on 8 March 1980 with regard to relations between the Arab world and the neighboring states, noting that it is a factor

which can contribute to stability and equilibrium in a region which is of great importance to world peace.

Support of Just Arab Issues

The Iraqi side expressed high appreciation of Spain's firm stand in support of just Arab issues, both in Spain's international relations and in bilateral and multi-lateral arenas.

The two sides discussed means of developing economic and trade cooperation between them, with the aim of strengthening bilateral relations between the two countries. On that basis, and after the meeting of the Iraqi-Spanish Joint Commission, they expressed their satisfaction with the positive development in their economic and trade relations and with the results cited in the minutes of the fifth meeting of the Joint Commission which was held within the framework of the Iraqi delegation's visit. The meeting resulted in a commitment to search for new means to achieve and develop economic cooperation, especially in the fields of transportation, communications, agriculture, housing, reconstruction, the petroleum and other industries, as well as to increase and diversify trade exchange and develop technical cooperation between the two countries. Members of the Iraqi side in the Joint Commission also made contacts with Spanish companies and establishments with an eye to increasing trade exchange in the future.

Iran Violates Good Neighborhood Principles

The two sides agreed to hold meetings next year. Meanwhile, the Iraqi side explained the serious situation which has emerged in the Arab region since the signing of the Camp David accords which represent a unilateral attempt that conflicts with the interests of the Arab nation and the rights of the Palestinian people. The Iraqi side also explained the efforts made by Iraq and the rest of the Arab countries to confront those dangers and emphasized the need to re-establish equilibrium in the region as a necessary condition for the attainment of a just and permanent solution.

The two sides expressed their concern over the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and stressed their belief that the complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the fulfillment of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including the right to self-determination in their own homeland, are basic conditions without which there cannot be a just and permanent peace. The Iraqi side explained the situation in the Arabian Gulf region and reported on the development of the confrontation with Iran as well as the serious situation arising from Iran's continuous violation of the rules of good neighborhood and coexistence and its refusal to recognize Iraq's legitimate rights and sovereignty over its waters and soil.

The Spanish side expressed its concern over the outcome of the conflict and its support of the efforts which are being exerted on all international levels to bring about a ceasefire and an urgent settlement of the conflict through direct negotiations between the parties concerned which would guarantee their legitimate and just rights and establish principles of coexistence, cooperation and friendship among the states of the region.

The Iraqi side also pointed to the dangers inherent in the growing foreign military presence and the consistent efforts of the great powers to acquire military facilities in the region. The Iraqi side emphasized that all this would jeopardize the region's security, stability and development.

New International Economic Order

The two sides expressed their determination to contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order that would be based on the principles of equity, solidarity and mutual independence and that would put an end to the unjust inequity which exists between the industrialized nations and the developing nations and guarantee a better and more equitable utilization of the forces of production and the achievements of science and technology.

The Leader President Invited to Spain

The Spanish side valued Iraq's initiative of proposing the establishment of a long-term world fund to aid developing nations against the effects of inflation. The two sides also agreed to exchange visits and meetings periodically, and at the highest levels to bolster and perpetuate the bilateral relations between them and strengthen their cooperation for the sake of consolidating peace and stability in the world.

His Majesty Don Juan Carlos I, King of Spain, conveyed to 'Izzat Ibrahim, Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, a renewed invitation to Saddam Husayn, President of the Iraqi Republic, to pay a state visit to Spain. The acceptance of the invitation was again confirmed. The date of the visit will be determined by mutual agreement through the proper channels. 'Izzat Ibrahim expressed his appreciation of the hospitality with which he and the members of his delegation were received and the friendship which he experienced during his visit to Spain.

Madrid: 14 January, 1981.

9254

CSO: 4802

OFFICIAL BOOKLET ON TUNBS, ABU MUSA REVIEWED

Baghdad AL-'IRAQ in Arabic 2 Feb 81 p 2

[Review by Lawyer Ghazi Khas'al al-Mashkur of the booklet "Our National Stand on the Three Arab Islands," by Dr Muhammad Husayn al-Zubaydi, published by the Iraqi Ministry of Culture and Information, 63 pages]

[Text] This is a 63-page booklet issued by the Ministry of Culture and Information, in which the author reviews Iraq's national stand on various issues in the Arab World, including the three Arab Gulf islands (Greater and Lesser Tunb, Abu Musa). The 17 July national socialist revolution has adhered to this stand from the beginning, and the leadership of the Arab socialist revolution has not altered it, having always declared that it is at the service of the Arab nation and is one of its weapons in withstanding its enemies and regaining usurped Arab rights.

The importance of the topic derives from the significance of the Arab Gulf, for the Gulf has a special importance in international military and economic policy. It is absolutely the most important waterway in the world, for it is located in the heart of the world. In addition, the Gulf is a lake of petroleum and has more oil than water. Because of all these merits, the Arab Gulf has become a stage for international struggles in which most of the world's countries which have interests in this area have long participated.

In the first part of the booklet, the author depicts these islands from the standpoints of their location in the Gulf, their area, the nature of the land, their agricultural and mineral resources, and the Arab affiliations of the entire population, except for Lesser Tunb, which is uninhabited.

Iran has long had designs on the Gulf region which it has tried to realize by disgusting methods not so different from the ones Zionism followed to realize its designs on Palestine. Iran has encouraged Iranian immigration to the Arab Gulf emirates under cover of British colonialism. This immigration became excessive after World War II, when Persian designs on the Gulf crystallized; in some emirates this immigration equalled the Arab population. All these methods reveal the hostile Persian designs and intentions which the Persians are hatching against Arab nationalism. The Shah of Iran's interests coincided with American plots to gain control over the Arab Gulf from the standpoints of petroleum and location and to oppose the rising Arab nation's advance towards achieving its goals. Iran waited for an opportunity to gain a foothold in the entire Gulf,

so as to become the policeman of the Gulf and take over the footholds of British colonialism, with which there had been an earlier agreement. Iran's claim on the three islands began in 1970, first with statements and finally with an unveiled threat to use force and the occupation of the islands. This threat appeared during the shah's reign in statements made by senior officials--the Iranian foreign minister, the prime minister, and the Shah himself. As for the pretexts on which the Iranian side relied, they were weak and illegitimate, revolving entirely around the British-Iranian agreement on possession of these islands. That is, the thieves exchanged the stolen goods by means of an illegal agreement between them. Neither Iran nor Britain have any right to dispose of these Arab islands. Furthermore, all the archival documents disprove foreign claims on these islands. The real reasons for Iranian designs on the Gulf are outgrowths of enmity towards the Arab nation, suppressed throughout history, and Persian arrogance, in addition to economic reasons. Iran is trying to make the Arab shores of the Gulf a market for its industry on the one hand, and to ensure the free passage of its navy through the Arab Gulf and the flow of its oil exports through the three islands' straits.

There are also strategic goals, since the three islands occupy an important, militarily and economically strategic location. Annexing the islands to Iran would ensure Iran a bridgehead which could be used to reach the other shores of the Gulf, either separate states or federated ones.

The United States stand can be summarized as follows: it wants to be a substitute for the British presence in the Gulf after British withdrawal. In order to achieve this, it has relied on military and economic aid to Gulf regimes, on supplying them with huge amounts of the most modern weapons to enable these regimes to protect themselves, and on building military bases in the Indian Ocean and along the maritime oil routes which link the Arab Gulf with America. It armed the Iranian army in a most provocative manner, and flooded it with heavy arms and supplied it with the most modern products of the American arsenal, until it made Iran into a regional strike force and the policeman of the Gulf guarding its interests.

As for the British stand, rooted deep in the arts of colonialism, it has always called for leaving Britain a foothold after its withdrawal from its colonies. This is what it did in the Shatt al-'Arab area after its withdrawal, at which time it left the matter of the islands hanging undecided. Britain was playing a double game with the Arabs and the Iranians, declaring on the one hand that the islands were Arab and encouraging Iran to occupy them on the other hand. There was Iranian-British collusion here.

As for Israel, it had strong relations with the Iranian regime, and therefore Zionist circles welcomed the shah's government's usurpation of the three islands. This agreement was part of the imperialist-Zionist plot to control the maritime entrances to the Arab Gulf and the southern Red Sea, to ensure the trade links between Zionism and the shah's government and the arrival of Iranian oil in Israel.

Iraq's national stand on the problem of the three Arab islands arises from the principles of the 17 July national socialist revolution and Arab Socialist Ba'th

Party theory. Its stand also arises from the fact that Iraq is a large Arab country responsible for protecting the Arab nation's eastern flank, and especially defending the Arabism of the Gulf. The party and revolutionary leadership warned against the dangers of foreign designs on the Arab Gulf, and the political report of the eighth national congress referred to these dangers more than once. Iraq has continued its intense efforts through its inflexible stand against Iranian designs, and has submitted many memorandums, one of which went to the Conference of Arab Foreign Ministers, asking that a unified Arab stand be taken to oppose colonialist plots so that the Arab Gulf will not be turned into another Palestine. After the disaster and the occupation of the islands, Iraq denounced the aggression, and vehemently protested the Iranian government's behavior, seeing it as a gross violation of the United Nations charter.

The Arab stand on this incident appeared during the emergency meeting of the Security Council, in a petition by some Arab states placing the responsibility for the islands' occupation more on Britain than on Iran. The International Peace Council also protested, declaring Iran's deed illegal.

When the Iranian revolution took place and the shah's regime was wiped out, it was assumed that the new regime's policy would be in the domestic interest of the Iranian people, as well as a positive factor in international relations, especially those with neighboring states. This is what some Iranian officials stated at the start of the revolution. However, what happened was that the new regime denied all rights and declared open hostility between the Arab world and the Iranian people, as voiced by President Bani Sadr, who announced Iran's refusal to return these islands, saying that they were Iranian and Iran would never give them up. Faced with this attitude, Iraq's struggling leader, Saddam Husayn, speaking for Iraq in a historic speech, declared that Iran had to return part of the Shatt al-'Arab, recognize that the inhabitants of Arabistan were of Arab origin, and withdraw Iranian forces from the three islands. But Persian fanaticism insisted on rejecting these legitimate, legal demands, and Iraq was forced to launch a diplomatic campaign to return the rulers of Iran to their senses. The Foreign Ministry submitted scores of memorandums to Iranian authorities, to no avail. The only thing left, therefore, was the sword, to defend these rights. These are some of the topics brought up by this book which I have reviewed in this general synopsis.

8559

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HARSH TACTICS FORESEEN IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 21 Jan 81 p 9

[Article by Amnon Barzilai: "The Battle for the Government"]

[Text] The tenth election campaign for the Knesset will be different from all its predecessors, it will be ugly and full of character defamation. That is what the director of the Alignment election campaign, Mr Aharon Har'el, believes. This worrisome forecast as to what awaits the state during the next 6 months is also accepted by other experienced workers in the party, and for one reason: the party in power has reconciled itself to its defeat in the coming elections. The election campaign will therefore be waged among a party which desires with all its might to return to power and a party which knows it has nothing to lose. The Likud will thus struggle like a wounded animal which, of course, constitutes a great danger for its hunters. This will be the first time, according to election campaign veterans in the Alignment, that the party in power marches with open eyes and a clear head towards the opposition. The parties of the Alignment, even in their most desperate hours in April-May 1977, believed that they would stay in power. It was clear then that the gap between the Alignment and the Likud would narrow. Fears also arose that the Alignment would have difficulty forming a coalition. But until the very last days, confidence reigned in party headquarters that leadership would not slip from its hands. This feeling, which in the final analysis was wrong, was good for the country. The labor parties, Aharon Har'el claims, acted during the entire election campaign like parties in power, like parties bearing national responsibility. The Likud is not acting like that and the first hint has already been received in the Labor party. It came in the form of a malicious rumor that MK Haim Bar-Lev, party secretary and Lt General in the reserves, was detained as a suspect in...espionage.

In the Alignment election staff which has now been hurriedly set up, the feeling is that Minister of Agriculture Ari'el Sharon will lead the Likud in the offensive against the Alignment's leaders. The three men who will be at the focus of the offensive will be "the leading troika," the chairman of the party and candidate for prime minister, Shimon Peres, the candidate for defense minister, Bar-Lev, and the candidate for foreign minister, Abba Eban. The campaign against the three, they say in Labor, will be personal and political. And of course they will try to bring up the fact that they were members of the "government of omission" of October 1973.

"Clean Propaganda"

Against this dirty campaigning the Alignment will try to make use of "clean" propaganda. In recent months, party headquarters has been flooded with information and communications people proffering their services: most of them are willing to do it for free. The graphic artist Dani Kerman will contribute his talents, not to speak of dozens of actors, artists, cultural types and journalists who were harnessed to action by the call "Back to Labor."

The ready enthusiasm of dozens of professional people in the areas of communication brings to mind to a large extent the excitement 4 years ago over DMC, and has led to a renewed appreciation of the topic of publicity and information. No publicity firm will be granted exclusive rights, according to Aharon Har'el. The three publicity firms with which the Labor party is negotiating are: Dahaf, Arieli, and Bing-Lineal. "Up till now the number of volunteers in giving advice and ideas is enormous. My problem is how to curb the flow of volunteers," says Har'el. If it will be possible to build an effective organization using volunteer communications people, it is not inconceivable that the Alignment would abandon the services of the publicity firms in order to save brokerage fees and commissions and the price of ideas which the publicity firms suggest.

The courses of action of the Alignment election campaign have not yet been finalized. Furthermore the party institutions have not certified the composition of the staff apart from the appointment of Aharon Har'el as director of the campaign. This new title that was given to Har'el came, in fact, to place him above the chairman of the election staff Dr Michael Bar-Zohar who was appointed to the job about 3 years ago. For Har'el the appointment constitutes a giant leap forward from the usual parth on the party staircase. At first Har'el, who has served for more than 10 years as chairman of the organizational department of Histadrut, had cast about for a more senior position in Histadrut. He even toyed with the idea of a contest for the position of secretary general of the Histadrut, or at least for the position of chairman of the professional union department. But Yeruham Meshel's clinching of fifth place and the close combat between Israel Kaiser and Dov Ben-Me'ir for the inheritance pushed Har'el aside. However the struggle between Uitzhaq Rabin and Shimon Peres worked in his favor and gave him the unqualified support of the party chairman. The internal contest helped Har'el turn his activity to the pure party arena. His control of the organizational system in the Histadrut and particularly of the workers' councils and of hundreds of activists throughout the country made him a central element in Peres' staff. So, too, in the "Together" circle which Eliahu Speiser set up against the Bet Berl circle and which is fed primarily by those workers who are dependent in large measure on Har'el.

Peres' victory in the contest for leadership of the party and the increasing strength of "Together" led naturally to an improvement of Har'el's position. In these two arenas, in the staff and in the circle, Har'el portrayed himself as an organization man and as a dedicated supporter of Peres. As a Peres man, Har'el was blessed with two additional virtues: his easygoing character and his past as a Rafi man. In one fell swoop Har'el jumped from the third ranks to second place in the party, to the very top. In the past, the election campaigns were run by the party strongmen Pinhas Sapir and Avraham "ofer, may he rest in peace. In the last elections Haim Barlev stood at the head of the staff which bought him his position among the three leaders of the party. Success in managing the election staff will apparently advance Har'el who desires not only a Knesset seat but also a practical job in the Alignment Government.

Towards a Decisive Majority

The inter-party parliamentary struggle to fix an election date is delaying decisionmaking concerning the propaganda line which the election staff will follow. It is also delaying the decision on the composition of the faction for the tenth Knesset and the choice of candidates to serve in the Alignment government. From an organizational point of view Peres' suggestion to decentralize the election staff will be accepted. The idea, accepted also by Har'el, favors the establishment of election staffs in all parts of the country which would be granted an activities budget. This decentralization is to assure that no power system is established which would have power and life of its own sufficient for it to continue to exist even after the elections. The appointment of Har'el as director of the elections system puts an end to this kind of danger. It leaves in a holding position the two central personalities in the party, Speiser and Uzi Bar'am, who are vying for the position of party secretary after the elections. The appointment of Har'el thus constitutes a compromise between the two main foci of power within the party.

The splitting of forces on the election staff between Alaf (the league for Peres) and the party prevents the rise of a third force. In the opinion of the managers of the election staff, this mutual neutralization will allow all the energy to be expended in implementing the unprecedented desire to double the power of the Alignment in the elections; i.e., to get from 32 Knesset members (not counting DMC defectors David Golomb and Meir 'anit and the Arab representative), to 64 Knesset members and a decisive majority.

9794

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LIKELIHOOD OF ETHNIC BLOC IN ELECTIONS VIEWED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 23 Jan 81 p 16

[Article by Shevah Weiss: "Possible Anti-Ashkenazi Revolution in the Coming Knesset Elections"]

In advance of the election to the 10th Knesset rumors are increasing about a possible ethnic organization. The Abu-Hatzira episode has increased the feelers in this direction. The attempt by MK's Algerabli and Marciano to set up a new political movement will undoubtedly undergo a metamorphosis, but will gain strength as the elections draw closer. Everyone is talking about the electoral potential of what is called in political jargon "communities" (meaning, in every case, Jews who are emigrants from Islamic countries and their families, even if they were born in Israel or mandate Palestine). A new mythos is being woven around this potential.

But what then is the political-electoral power of voters from among our brethren from the oriental communities? A number of answers can be given. For in fact it is not to be measured necessarily in a sectoral-separatist phenomenon but is hidden in the "integrated" existing parties, no less than in an open separate communal phenomenon. And not only that, but this power has already been expressed in the most effective way in the past. The potential of the oriental voter was behind the well-known political revolution. It was he who brought about the electoral storm of May, 1977. But this fact was blurred by the brilliance of DMC.

It has to be made clear once and for all that the coup of 1977 was brought about by the voters of Kiryat Shmoneh, Hatzor in the Galilee, Tiberias, Yokneam, Upper Afula, Bet Shean, Shlomi, Tirat Hacarmel, Kadima, Or Akiva and Or Yehuda, Ashkelon Ashdod, Yeruham, Dimona, Shderot, Netivot, Bet Shemesh, as well as the voters of the Katamon and Hatikvah districts in Jerusalem and the Mahaneh David district of Haifa. The matter is easy to prove: DMC mustered about 200,000 voters which gave it 15 members of the Knesset. Only about one-third of them (or perhaps a little more) changed their support from the Alignment to DMC. The remainder came from Likud, the Independent Liberals, the Citizens' Rights list and from new voters.

It therefore follows that if it were only a question of damage by DMC, the Alignment would have remained the number one force and the Likud would have had to make do, as in 1973, with second place. The Alignment would have gotten

45 MK's (instead of the 51 which it had in the eighth Knesset) and the Likud, 34 MK's (instead of the 39 that it had in the eighth Knesset). The president of Israel would have invited the Alignment candidate, Shimon Peres, to form a government, and he would, almost certainly, have succeeded in forming a sizeable coalition, with the DRP and perhaps also with DMC and Peace for Israel. Thus the coup and the present struggle within the Labor party would have been prevented. For Alignment would have continued to rule, this time under the leadership of Peres. But what actually happened? The Alignment lost 21 MK's and more than 40 percent of its strength. (For this purpose we include also the minority factions adjacent to the Alignment table).

It follows that, if so, besides the 5-6 MK's which the Alignment lost to DMC, it lost 15-16 additional MK's. On the other hand, the Likud, despite the fact that it lost votes to DMC, too, something like 4-5, still increased its strength and together with Shlomo Zion amassed 45 MK's. All of this for one reason: masses of oriental voters transferred their vote this time from the Alignment directly to Likud. They did not protest by supporting the "bourgeois" party, the respectable, unassuming, Ashkenazi and veteran--DMC. They found their redemption in the Begin ethos. Thus the Alignment ceded about 10 MK's to the Likud and possibly even more. The remainder went to the NRP (between 2-3 MK's) and also to DMC (the minority factions of the Alignment dropped from 3 MK's to a representation of only 1). The NRP also gained from the Alignment loss. Thus DMC, Likud and the NRP profitted from the devastation, but mostly Likud and the NRP.

Standing behind the coup were, therefore, the masses of voters from among what is stereotypically called the "second Israel." It was the "second Israel" which took the rule from the "laboring Land of Israel" and gave it to the "complete Land of Israel." To this whole matter must be added the anomaly of Platto-Sharon. It is an anomaly which will not necessarily disappear. It may well take hold in the Israeli landscape and survive.

Paradoxically Algerabli (formerly of DMC), Marciano (Sheili, at the time of this writing also "formerly"), and Biton (the DMC), won their Knesset seats by dint of the Ashkenazi or Arab vote. For the masses of voters of their communities are characterized, for the moment, by a disinclination to support separatist communal movements or workers of communal descent who carry that ID badge before the nation and the community. It is precisely those who are called "communities" who prefer the nation to the community. With uncanny instinct these voters sought not to legitimize the processes of separatism, and they play the political game within the totality of Israel.

There are those who interpret this behavior as forced. Whoever interprets it thus is overly impressed by the assertion that it is the strong effective instrumentalism of the absorbing Ashkenazi veterans which will "process" the oriental voters into the overall political establishment. They in fact came to Palestine and to Israel with a pure heart and a warm, fervent "general" Jewish Zionist heart, and not to renew here their diaspora via a communal establishment (of whatever sort). Remaining within religious frameworks [sic, apparently a typo for "communal" frameworks] was seen in their eyes no less than in the eyes of those who would absorb them, as inferiority and even backwardness. But in the past they bestowed the lion's share of their support to Mapai and Ben-Gurion as well as the Herut and to Begin, and in May, 1977, to Likud and to Begin. They, too, like the majority of the Ashkenazis, were taken with personalities like those of Ben-Gurion, Dayan, Begin, Ezer Weizman and even Sharon. A few of them, very few, were influenced by "representatives" of the communities in the big parties. These representatives advanced themselves along the ladder of their political career more than they contributed to their parties.

Had those very same people appeared exposed in the voting booth on communal lists, they would almost certainly have gone down to defeat, just as was the case with David Ben-Harosh, the leader of the rebellion in Wadi Salib or the leaders of the Panthers, who, in the elections to the eighth Knesset were also totally unsuccessful. They, like most of their Ashkenazi political colleagues, benefitted from the "umbrella" of the principal leaders of the country and by means of it, and only by means of it, went as far as they did.

But in the meantime those leaders have disappeared from the arena or, for those that were left, the aura has dimmed. Now a new national leadership has begun to sprout, with a place of honor for the country's president, Yitzhak Navon. Navon's prestige is not necessarily connected with his ethnic background. Therefore even if he should advance and become involved in practical politics, the masses of Ashkenazis will support him just as in the past the masses of oriental Jews supported Ben-Gurion or Begin. For, in any case, it is not the ethnic voters that polarize society but, if at all, mainly the political workers, and at that, from junior grade on down.

Nevertheless, a change is occurring even in this sphere. In the last generation an effective political leadership has blossomed--not precisely in the area of sectoral activity--the non-Ashkenazi ethnic source of which was the root of its primary strength (especially at the stage of initial political enrollment), but its members went higher and higher and were very successful in their task. Some of them as ministers (Hillel, Ozen, Levy, Abu-Hatzeira), some of them as members of the Knesset (Shoshana Arbeli-Aluzlino, Qatzav, Shahal, and many others), others as mayors (Nawi, Shitrit, Qinan, Hazan, Amir, Ali, Luq, Dayan, Bibi, Gabrieli, Arbill and others), some as senior officials in national and public life, some as university teachers (like Dr Sami Samuha, Dr Ben Shitrit, Prof Avner Shaqi and others) and on and on. Not only that, but the Likud government has not yet succeeded either in satisfying the wishes of that large community which brought it to power on a platter of protest.

This push, of a flowering of elitism on the one hand and of a continuation of the protest on the other, is likely to change the voting habits of that Israel which refuses--rightly--to be labeled "second." Thus the future holds the possibility of a kind of anti-Ashkenazi revolution, but not necessarily stormy. How this revolution will be reflected in the party and political establishments will only be known in the future,

In any case, the elections for the 10th Knesset will stand as a symbol of the increasing courting, by the founders, of the electoral potential of these voters on the one hand, and the attempts at a particularist ethnic phenomenon on the other. Big money is also likely to enter the arena, whether via Flatto-Sharon or Nissim Gaon. This scenario is correct, as well, at the national, government, municipal and even the Histadrut level.

The non-Ashkenazi elite will no longer be satisfied with a pauper's meal but will demand a good seat in the center. If they get it, they will, in fact, be captives of their own progress.

LABOR STRENGTHENS TIES WITH ABUDAT YISRA'EL

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 21 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by HA'ARETZ political correspondent Amnon Barzilai]

[Text] Agudat Yisra'el would agree to participate in a government that the Alignment would set up after the elections in the hope of replacing the NRP as the swing party. Discussions about this have been held in the last few months among heads of Agudat Israel.

At the end of the week the journal of the Belz Hasidim, "The Orthodox Camp," published a report that there are already contacts between the heads of the Labor party and the heads of Agudat Yisra'el on coalitional cooperation after the elections. According to the report, the initiator of the idea for cooperation is the lawyer Haim Tzadoq, who is also to serve in the next Alignment government.

The report, which is played up in the orthodox journal, is making waves in the Agudat Yisra'el camp. It was further stated in the article that feelers for a tightening of contacts between the Labor party and Agudat Yisra'el camp. It was further stated in the article that feelers for a tightening of contacts between the Labor party and Agudat Yisra'el are based on the predictions of pollsters that the two parties will gain in the elections and together will be able to form a coalition of 61 Knesset members. According to the writer of the report, it is felt in the Labor Party that Agudat Yisra'el would be a more comfortable coalition partner since it would only make demands in the religious sphere. Circles within the Agudat Yisra'el emphasized that all that their party demands is a continuation of the religious status quo, which is to say an assurance that the amendments which they won under the Likud government would not be changed. In exchange for this willingness, the Alignment would be guaranteed support in the political, defense and economic areas.

The heads of both the Labor party and Agudat Yisra'el deny the report. Nonetheless it should be noted that one of the editors of the journal is the secretary of the council of Torah sages, Rabbi Haim Shalom Frosh, a relative of MK Menahem Frosh. The journal belongs to the Belz Hasidim whose leader, Dov Roqeah, is a relative of MK Shlomo Lorentz. Mr Haim Tzadoq is also connected by family ties to the Belz Hasidim whence, according to Agudat Yisra'el activists, the source of the report.

The HA'ARETZ correspondent notes that the report in the orthodox journal constitutes, in fact, a signal to the heads of the Labor party of the willingness of Agudat Yisra'el to deviate from its long-standing policy and agree in the future to be a coalition partner. This change in its traditional policy is a result, on the one hand, of the considerable gains which have accrued to it in the 4 years

of Likud rule, and, on the other, of a fear that if they do not participate in a coalition headed by the Alignment, the religious laws w'ill be amended to their disadvantage. Furthermore the heads of Agudat Yisra'el feel that they would be a more comfortable partner for the Alignment than the NRP, which has demands in the political and defense spheres as well, particularly on the question of territorial concessions.

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COMMERCIAL TIES WITH PHILIPPINES GROW

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 8 Jan 81 p 4

[Article by Tzvi Timor: "Israel-Philippines Commercial Relations"]

[Text] The Muslim insurrection and the political efforts to settle it and the dependence on the importation of oil from the Middle East, are the basic facts for defending the background of relations between Israel and the Philippines. According to the assessment of the Israeli ambassador to the Philippines, Moshe Raviv, the peace agreement with Egypt added much to the image of Israel in the Philippines. He fully exploited this positive effect of a peace treaty with a Muslim nation.

Moshe Raviv's opinion is, too, that the existence of a Muslim population in the Philippines has no negative effect on relations with Israel. What are involved are very moderate Muslims among whom the religious fundamentalist influence is sufficiently weak.

Within the limits outlined above there are proper relations, even good ones, between the two countries. The government of the Philippines is on the side of the Camp David agreements and the peace process and demonstrates an understanding of the problems of Israel. This understanding does not always seem apparent in the organs of the UN, because on the diplomatic level the line with the unaligned bloc straightens out, particularly on problems that do not relate directly to the Philippines, so that no gap will be opened with the countries of the Third World.

Thus, development of the relations centers mainly around modest commerce conducted in both directions, and the possibilities of developing joint investments in the Philippines. This segment of the relations is mainly dependent on the readiness to invest resources and efforts.

Support for Advanced Study

The Israeli elements operating in the Philippines, mainly Koor and Zim, as well as the Eisenberg Group, are succeeding in spite of strong Japanese competition, which dominates the commerce of the Philippines.

Israeli foreign aid has also attained certain successes, and about 350 Philippine advanced students have studied in Israel over the past 20 years in the field of

agriculture and cooperatives, mainly in the Afro-Asian Institute of the Histadrut, which is one of the highly regarded Israeli institutions in those countries. Those studying in Israel are organized in a peace club which meets twice annually and is an active body which supports the development of ties between the two countries.

Today, 2 Israeli agricultural advisors work in the Philippines and conduct courses on agricultural topics, another 10 or 15 experts on behalf of TAHAL [Israel Water Planning Authority]; experts in fowl raising work at the expense of various international bodies. The embassy also operates within the small Jewish community of some 80 families who live mostly in Manila.

Convention of Jewish Communities

The central event of the Commonwealth, is the convention of all the Jewish communities in Asia and Oceania, which is to gather in Hong Kong during the month of May, on the initiative of the Jewish community in Australia. The aim of the convention--to establish an umbrella organization with a budget and with organs to deal with problems of education and mutual support. Ambassador Moshe Raviv has been invited to participate in this convention.

The Israel presence is also felt in the publication of a local information pamphlet and through the loaning of books, recordings, movies and television films about Israel. The ambassador manages to appear in newspapers, on television, at the universities, and to maintain ties with the public.

Another type of Israeli presence in the Philippines and in other countries of southeast Asia is the film Eskimo Lemon which has been shown successfully in movie houses in these countries.

The main burden of developing commerce between Israel and the Philippines rests upon the shoulders of the representative of Koor-Commerce, Yosef Sheni. He markets to the Philippines formica, sewing threads, fire-extinguishers, fowl food, fertilizers, chemicals, tomato sauce and juices produced at Gan Shmuel, faucets from the Hamat factory, polishing stones from the Sarid Kibbutz and additional products. Recently Yosef Sheni has begun to introduce irrigation equipment, and for that purpose he acquired long-term export financing. Another matter with which the office deals is marketing of hospital equipment. In this field there is still competition with the Americans.

Recently, Sheni has attempted to market Brinks trucks for the transport of money between banks. The supplier of this product is the Beyt Alpha Kibbutz. Sheni, who is a member of the Mishmar Ha'emek Kibbutz, describes Beyt Alpha as a "tough supplier."

Yosef Sheni enjoys good connections (of course) with the industrial kibbutzim, deals also with the marketing of sprinklers of Na'an, Dorot and Ami'ad, and with the setting up of a hog-feeding project in cooperation with Asiya-Ma'abarot.

Two other cooperative projects for Israel and Philippine investors which are in the negotiating stage, are in the field of extracting avocado and coconut oil. Other projects are still in the stage of planning and negotiation.

Great efforts are being put forth by Sheni to acquire raw materials. Because of problematical marketers, Sheni makes his way through the jungles to acquire directly from the source products such as wood, tuna fish, pineapple and coconut.

Sheni also reports that he proposed to the government to acquire sugar at low prices, but that in the meantime the prices increased and it is not possible to procure sugar.

The International Eisenberg

It is more difficult to present an overview on the activity of the Eisenberg group locally. Clearly, the principal businesses of this group do not affect Israel, and most of the profits do not reach Israel. Eisenberg is seen within the Israeli context generally as the representative of the military-industrial enterprises in particular, by reason of Y. Levin (Eisenberg's man in the Philippines) having been a former Israeli.

Eisenberg's is an international and multinational company, whose realm of business affairs is more on the international level, Levin asserts. The representative group describes the difficulties which stem from an "Israeli image" when some 100,000 Filipinos are employed in Arab countries. He is critical of the competition in foreign markets among various Israeli elements. The Israeli competitiveness is not comprehended in the Philippines, he argues.

His remarks imply that there should be a cartelization of Israeli export efforts to Asia. But it would appear that the intention is that the other Israeli elements who deal with the Far East, should give up dealing in those places where the Eisenberg companies are.

Among Israeli circles in the Far East, particularly among the suppliers and not among the competitors, there are sharp arguments with respect to the activity of the Eisenberg group in the Far East. The thrust of the arguments is that the agents of this group are not prepared to deal with "small" things, that is to say with export of several tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands of dollars. The Eisenberg companies are equipped to deal only with large transactions of millions of dollars where the fees are high.

Apparently the Eisenberg companies maintain a large office and staff, so that their activities are more expensive. Among the Eisenberg operations there have been a number of failures which did not add to the good name of Israel in various countries, but there have also been successful operations. In any case, the general impression is that Israeli export to the Far East will not progress if it is dealt with solely by "this multinational and international" group.

ELECTRONICS EXPORTS EXPECTED TO INCREASE

Tel Aviv 'AL HANISHMAR in Hebrew 9 Jan 81 p 12

[Article: "Computer Branch to Reach Export of \$10 Billion"]

[Text] With proper planning and concentrated effort it is possible, within the next decade to reach exports to a value of \$10 billion instead of the half billion for the year 1980 in the computer branch. The future of Israeli industry is in the information industry which will enable it to exploit the relative advantage of Israel in manpower in the world market contest.

These comments were made yesterday by the Minister of Labor and Social Betterment, Dr Yisrael Katz, during a tour of the Seitecs Company in Herzlia.

The minister added that in that way, Israel will integrate into the world trend for accelerated development of data processing manufacturing the worldwide scope of which attains \$100 billion annually.

The minister pointed to examples of office word-processing systems, integrated systems of television and computers, learning industries--preparation of courses by means of a computer, manufacture of robots and industries to plan computerized production.

A future is also seen for an electronic entertainment industry and the manufacture of medical systems. In Israel there is an appropriate, including basic development. There is a need to set up a national communications network for the transmittal of data, for development of a national electronic library and for the introduction of the subject of micro computers in the schools.

Increased Manpower

Minister Katz noted that despite the unemployment in the various branches of the economy, the computer branch has a shortage of manpower and has seen a growth in manpower employed in computers from 7,959 workers in 1978 to 9,580 workers in 1979. The export of this branch has also increased and reached one-half billion dollars in the year 1980. By the data of the Central Office of Statistics, there has been a 100 percent increase in the number of terminals, from 2,500 terminals on 167 computers in the year 1978 to 5,000 terminals on 381 computers in the year 1979 in the civilian system. The overall number of computers in the civilian system increased also, from 700 in the year 1978 to 1,100 in the year 1979.

Delegation of Company Managers

The topic of computers is one in which Jews excel throughout the world and will make possible the absorption of immigrants and the absorption of academicians. Recently a Jewish expert arrived from France and prepared the ground for the arrival of tens of company managers from France, all of them Jews, who will arrive in this country in March and who intend to examine the possibility of investments in this country in the field of computer manufacture and the possibility of immigration.

Recently, two giant corporations in the United States decided to open branches in Israel which will employ, within 3 years, about 1,000 engineers in their operations.

Katz concluded by stating that the Seitecs Company is an excellent example of a successful Israeli company which is based on expertise and finds itself in an unusual wave of development.

This company has captured a prestigious position in the American market and has reached an export of \$24 million in 1980.

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GAZA CITRUS INDUSTRY ON DECLINE

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 12 Jan 81 p 11

[Article by Dani Tzidkoni: "Death of the Groves"]

[Text] The citrus grove, pride of Gaza, is endangered. The owners of groves who in the past were quite satisfied are now seeking ways to divest themselves of what had been the source of their riches and the symbol of their status.

I confess that I would not have recognized the threat to the existence of the top branch in the economy of the Strip, were it not for Haj Hassam 'Ata a-Shawa, chairman of one of the largest organizations of grove owners in the area, who called my attention to it. Now, moving through the roads of the area, I note that some of the groves which extend in the Strip over more than 72,000 dunam, are in a process of deterioration or extinction.

The process is most noticeable in those groves adjacent to residential concentrations or that are located within city limits where their land is most in demand for purposes of construction. In Rishon LeTzion, in Rehovot or in Ness Tziona, the landowners are intentionally letting mature groves deteriorate in order to sell the tract for construction purposes even when construction approval is far beyond their reach because there is opposition to changing the purpose of the land from agriculture to construction. There is no more adamant opposition in the Strip than this kind and a grove owner suffering heavy losses from his grove can uproot trees and parcel out the area which thus becomes available for building plots. Other grove owners convert the areas which become available into more profitable agricultural land workings such as for vegetables for export.

Hassam 'Ata a-Shawa, who belongs to a political movement different than that of his cousin, the mayor of Gaza, is angry that the Arab countries are not supporting the grove owners in the Strip to tide them over the crisis which is now overtaking the branch and which stems from two main reasons: inflation in Israel and the sealing off of the Iranian market.

He headed delegations of exporters and citrus growers from Gaza to the various countries requesting that they support the Gaza people through purchases of the Gaza fruit at attractive prices. Many promises were given but to now, he says, nothing has come of it.

The poor situation of the Strip's grove owners was exploited quite well by the Jordanian businessmen who acquired some 15,000 tons at depressed prices, 'Ata a-Shawa says. Since this is the situation the grove owners are not rushing to use the permits which they hold to replant. It is not at all clear that their investment would be worthwhile. "Citrus growing," says a-Shawa, "is not wagering."

The Gaza grove owners fear that in another 5 years, when the grove they plant today begins to bear fruit, the situation will not have improved. Thus, planting now is imprudent and more so since, in addition to inflation and the closing off of the Iranian market, additional damage factors are conspiring against the Gaza groves, such as the degeneration of water sources in the area and their salinization.

Whoever still remembers the Sharon as a land of groves, ocean and dunes will find in the Gaza Strip images of the landscape of his childhood but shortly it seems that there, too, flat and ugly cement houses will take over.

Back to the Bank

Since attorney Shafik 'Uaziz Shahada of Ramalla and Elias Khouri of Jerusalem have filed a petition with the Israel High Court of Justice against the military authorities who demanded that the Palestine Bank omit the word Palestine from the name of their bank, this is perhaps an inappropriate forum for the expression of an opinion. The truth is that I would like to understand why it should be forbidden for the Gazaites to continue to call the bank, which they established with Egyptian help 20 years ago, by its name. (Next month they will commemorate the twentieth year of its existence in a festive occasion.) It seems to me that a little more than 30 years ago even our national bank was partly called Palestine, and a very important Zionist paper which appears in Jerusalem in the English language was also called in the past by that name. There are also various Israeli companies, public and private, where the combination form "Pal-" still appears in their names.

I have no interest here in advocating the concept Palestinian and the rights of the Arab residents of the country to use it, but if it was acceptable to state that Jews are intelligent in financial matters, there are those in Gaza who believe that their intelligence in this area as well is now on the downgrade. According to the argument of such a believer the refusal of the Israeli authorities to renew the banking activity of the Palestine Bank on the pretext that its name is taboo from an Israeli standpoint, displays an economic blindness.

I assume that the military authority has its own reasons for opposing the name Palestine, and will explain them when so ordered by the court. I hope that the name issue is not in fact an excuse to prevent the bank from opening its doors. Hasn't the authority always proclaimed that it would view with favor upon the reopening of the bank, if it would accept the condition of liquidity as required of it by the Bank of Israel. The matter was involved in Egypt's agreement to free its deposits which had been frozen in Egypt. And so, Egypt gave its assent to that.

The conduct of the Israeli authorities does not demonstrate great wisdom, my Gaza friend believes. Although he is not within the circle of the bank management, it is clear to him that the Israeli economy and especially Israeli trade can benefit from its reopening. The bank, he says, will funnel Arab monies to this country because it must be assumed that its management will know how to gather these monies under the banner that the residents of the Strip should be supported in protecting their economic independence under Israeli rule. The monies flowing into the bank will be allocated by the management for loans to grove owners, to employers, to contractors and to manufacturers.

"Where will these people acquire the goods, the equipment and the various raw materials," says my informant, "if not from the large Jewish dealers in Tel Aviv?" The dealers will profit thereby, and not they alone but also the income tax and the value added tax, while in the Strip there will be a livelihood for thousands of families because the bank will inject oxygen to its economy.

It is understood that the bank will be able to use the funds provided to it by Arab elements for political purposes but in order to assure that this Arab money is not exploited for anti-Israel purposes, there exists a military authority. It is possible to conduct anti-Israel activities even without the name Palestine

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AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS DESCRIBED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 20 Jan 81 p 7

[Article by DAVAR Correspondent David Moshiev: "14.6 Billion Shekel Investment in Agriculture Required to 1985"]

[Text] A 6-year plan to develop agriculture in the years 1980-1985 which was developed and prepared in the Ministry of Agriculture will require an investment of 14.6 billion shekels at the April 1980 prices. The scope of the net investment will reach about 8.8 billion shekels, about 67 percent of the overall funds to be invested in the development of the regional system.

The principal goals for development of agriculture in this 6-year plan, among others, are:

Stimulation Of Agricultural Export: Agricultural production is planned for an increase to 1985 at an annual rate of 6.3 percent. The rate of this increase will be attributable primarily to the expansion of agricultural export at an annual rate of 7.2 percent. The weight of export in agricultural output will attain more than 42 percent by the end of 1985 and will total \$1.1 billion in 1980 prices. Fifty percent of the production increment during the years of the plan are slated for export. The export will also provide more than 60 percent of farmers' incomes. A surplus of about \$300 million will be created in the foreign balance of trade in agriculture, that is, export will account for 132 percent of import.

Movement Toward High Capital And Technological Agriculture: What is meant by this are hothouses, to cultivate new strains, appropriate mechanization, organization of the marketing in approach and in tools. In this way it will be possible to overcome the limitation of natural production factors and in particular water, the need for which will increase during the period of the plan despite the situation in 1978, by 26 million cubic meters of water and that within the context of another segmented internal assessment. The need for water in the current agricultural settlement will decrease by 40 million cubic meters of water annually while the need for water in the new agricultural settlement will increase by more than 60 million cubic meters of water annually as compared to the year 1978. Coordination of the agriculture to the water limitation required significant increase in efficiency in the consumption of water by means of a movement toward plantings which give a higher return per unit of water.

The Irrigated Area will increase by 300,000 dunam mainly in the Jordan Valley, the Golan Heights, the Basor and the 'Arava and its proportion of the cultivated area will increase from 50 to 56 percent by the year 1985. While the value of production per unit of soil will increase progressively, the need for water per irrigated dunam will decrease at the rate of 7 percent.

In the wake of relatively expanded development of export plantings with high labor requirements during the period of the plan, the number of employed in agriculture will increase by 12,000 workers, 60 percent of whom will likely be hired hands.

Agricultural Energy Consumption (including water and transport of the exported produce to foreign countries) reaches about 8 percent of the total domestic consumption. The size of the annual outlay will reach about \$200 million. The goals of increased efficiency during the period of the plan are: direct saving for the entire agricultural system, indirect saving through exchange of high-energy-requiring plantings to plantings of lesser energy requirements; strengthening the use of energy sources that are independent of mineral fuels such as geothermal energy, solar energy, utilization of agricultural wastes, etc.

Production Structure: There will be changes taking place in the production structure in the direction of the rising ratio of vegetal plantings from 61.9 percent in the year 1979 to about 64.4 percent in the year 1985, with the principal increase to take place in avocado, flowers, vegetables and subtropical fruits. The ratio of cotton in production value is to decrease somewhat in comparison to the year 1979: from 12.3 percent to about 12.1 percent and that owing to water limitations.

At the conclusion of the implementation of the development plan for the years 1980-1985, the part of agriculture in the gross national product will attain about 7.4 percent as compared with 6.9 percent during the year 1979.

The plan includes 867 agricultural settlements which existed up to 1978, and another 48 settlements which are to be established during the period of the plan. In total there will be 915 settlements in the year 1985 (excluding the community settlements). The breakdown of the settlements: 318 kibbutzim and cooperative moshavim, 480 moshavim, 51 moshavot, 42 agricultural schools and public farmsteads, and 96 minority villages.

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UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENTS REPORTED UP

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 23 Jan 81 p 3

[Lecture by Dr Hagai Erlikh]

"An amazing increase has taken place in the last 10 years in the number of students in universities in Arab countries while in the same period Israel has been treading water"--according to Dr Hagai Erlikh, in a lecture yesterday to members of the education committee of the Knesset at the Shiloah Institute in the University of Tel Aviv.

The lecturer noted that between the years 1972 and 1980, the number of students in Arab countries grew by 250 percent. Today more than a million students are attending institutions of higher learning in Arab countries, as opposed to 375,000 in 48 universities in 1972. In Egypt alone their number has grown in that period from 200,000 to 450,000.

In Israel, on the other hand, 47,700 students were in attendance in 1972 and 64,000 in 1979, of which 6,000 were in the "open" university. Today 70,000 Palestinians are in universities, about two-thirds of them in countries of the region--the lecturer said.

By the year 2000 there will be 12,000,000 people in Arab countries who hold an academic degree, about 5 percent of the population, as opposed to 0.5 percent in 1975, he said. "This is a part of the process of preparing leaders for the future in Arab countries despite the imbalance which characterizes the course of the Arab world in general and education in it in particular," the lecturer noted.

Today the majority of countries in the region are incapable of absorbing the increasing number of new academics, but it is impossible to give an unequivocal answer to the question as to whether this process contributes to phenomena of instability in our region, he said. Taking part in the day of study were education committee chairperson MK Ora Namir and MK's Shmuel Toledano, Tupiq Tovi, Menahem Savidor, Ehud Ulmart, Eli Mayel and Zaydan 'atshi.

The head of the Shiloah Institute, Professor Eli Rekhes, who opened the discussion, surveyed the progress accompanying the changes which are occurring as part of the modernization process in the Arab sector of Israel and the occupied territories. Given the growth in the Arab population which reaches about 4 percent a year, Professor Rekhes foresees that in the year 2000, the Arabs will constitute 23 percent of the total population of the state, as against 15 percent today.

He further reported that about 25,000 Arab students are studying in high schools in Israel and estimated that there are about 4,000 in higher learning. At the end of their studies, these graduates run into employment difficulties because of a solid wall of prejudice, mostly unjustified, the lecturer averred. He further noted the discrepancy between the legitimate struggle for equality of civil rights and the national struggle of Israel's Arabs which results from the fact that they accuse the country of a deliberate policy of retarding their development.

MK Toledano took exception to the demographic conclusions that the lecturer drew and said that as the level of education increases, the number of children in an Arab family decreases. MK Tovi said that the situation of the Arab village testifies to a policy of neglect and discrimination which prevents development. "After all when you talk about a Galilee of Jews and not of Gentiles, what do you want these Gentiles to do," he asked.

MK Ora Namir reported that a special subcommittee on problems of Arab education has been working for 2 years now and pointed out that it cannot get the cooperation of the Arab students in the Hebrew University and in Haifa. It is impossible for them because of tremendous pressures, Mrs Namir said. This phenomenon hurts the efforts that we invest to improve the situation, she said.

Professor Moane Brouwer surveyed the changes that have occurred in the structure of the Arab village in Israel and the territories.

Professor Shimon Shamir explained the phenomenon of directing the youth in Arab society to the study of the free professions by saying that "the Palestinians are the Jews of the Arab world," as if to say that the process is like that which characterized the Jews of the diaspora.

Professor Itamar Rabinowitz opened and closed the discussion.

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POLITICAL FIGURES DISCUSS COUNTRY'S FUTURE

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 31 Jan 81 pp 34-38

[Article by Manwal Yunis and Basim al-Jisr: "AL-MUSTAQBAL Examines the File on the Lebanese Dialogue: A Third Voice; Manwal Yunis Says, 'What Happened to the Lebanese Person Is a Disaster;' Basim al-Jisr Says, 'The Critical Challenges Have not Come Up Yet' "]

[Text] Two political figures are taking part in the second part of the "Lebanese Dialogue" series. They speak for the Lebanese faction that refused to take part in the fighting and they represent political moderation and the other view of Lebanon or what may be called the Democratic National Center. They are Dr Manwal Yunis and Dr Basim al-Jisr.

Dr Manwal Yunis is a former deputy, an intellectual and an economist. His name appeared among those of the 1976 presidential candidates in Lebanon. He had participated in the establishment of the National Progress Movement in 1960, and he had published several books on the question of Lebanon. He recently wrote a memorandum about the Lebanese crisis and the role of Lebanon in the contemporary world, and he gave it exclusively to AL-MUSTAQBAL which is publishing a summary of it.

The colleague, Dr Basim al-Jisr is one of those prominent intellectual and political personalities in Lebanon. He has held positions of importance in the press and in the media in Lebanon and abroad. In addition, he took part in establishing the elitist 22 November club and the Lebanese Democratic party for which he was elected secretary general in 1976. He has authored several books on politics.

The points of view on Lebanon's future which are held by these two representatives of the "Third Lebanese Faction" follow.

Manwal Yunis

The world needs to have Lebanon resume its role in the service of humanity.

The collapse of the Lebanese regime will proclaim the failure of every attempt for democratic liberation in the region.

The rescue of Lebanon is not a role of secondary

importance to the international community.
The course of postponing the settlement of Lebanon's crisis until the questions of the regions are settled is erroneous and unfair.

For 6 years the people of Lebanon have been plummeting in front of all the nations of the world to the brink of disintegration and death. The international community has not undertaken any decisive action to save them; nor has the conscience of the world realized the extent of their misfortune even until this hour.

Arab leaders and world leaders have to make an effort that is compatible with the interests of their own people to save the role of Lebanon from loss before it is too late.

It was during the modern age that Lebanon completed the distinguishing marks of its prominent role as an indispensable and incomparable humanitarian and natural link between the East and the West.

The foremost characteristics of this permanent role lie in our people's unsurpassed ability to combine diversities and coordinate inconsistencies. The characteristics of this role also lie in the people's ability to grasp the substance of any matter and to create coexistence formulas between parties and opposites. These characteristics are the products of the continuous practice and the bitter experiences [our people have had] throughout our long history.

The convergence of ancient and modern religions and cultures in Lebanon was not merely a circumstantial gathering or a matter of geographic proximity. It was due to this practice and this experience that the presence of ancient and modern religions and cultures turned into a permanent dialogue and interaction. Thus did Christianity and Islam, the two major religions, find in this small country the most suitable place for realizing the experience of having their teachings and their values interact on the basis of a common daily view and a lively balance.

Despite the presently growing silent antipathy between the Arab and Islamic nations on the one hand and between the nations of the West on the other, the feelings of each one of the parties for the need to cooperate with the other on grounds that are clear and constant are increasing proportionately and simultaneously. It began to be obvious to them that on account of its unique Islamic-Christian experience and its traditional role as a natural and a spiritual link between the East and the West, Lebanon was the best place in the world to build an exemplary model of cooperation and coexistence that they can adopt and follow in a permanent fashion in [the process of] rectifying the relationships and interests they have in common. Hence comes the world's current need for Lebanon to resume its unique experiment and role in the service of humanity.

Another one of the characteristics of the Lebanese role is the emigration

and population exchange that are taking place on a world-wide scale. One third of the Lebanese citizens are living outside their homeland; and one third of those living in Lebanon are not Lebanese. Our country generously gives its citizens to the world so they can contribute to its prosperity and its well-being, and it embraces in their place the tormented and persecuted multitude from all over the world. Lebanon's destiny throughout history has been the continuous emigration of its people to the most distant parts of the inhabited world, and it has been a welcoming haven for every refugee and every victim of injustice. Behind this fact lies the secret of Lebanon's world-wide stature and its effective presence beyond its borders. Behind that fact also lies the secret of the makeup of the people of Lebanon who are racially diverse and whose minorities are [also] diverse.

It was during this age that the Lebanese introduced into Arab civilization, which became their civilization, its most modern connotations and its most radiant varieties and specimens. This occurred after the lengthy isolation and the total withdrawal from development that had been imposed by the Ottoman rule on the Arab east. The value of every civilization is not only proportionate to the depth of its roots, but it is also proportionate to the multiplicity of its contents. The Lebanese people also restored to the Arabic language its flexibility and its ability to express the innovations of science and urbanization. They revived its basic principles and its literature, and they devoted themselves to publishing [Arabic books] and teaching [the Arabic language]. They take credit for their willingness to sow the seeds for the modern awakening of the Arabic language.

On the other hand, Lebanon was receptive to western civilization before other countries in the east. It adapted western innovations and became familiar with western accomplishments. It hosted the West's educational institutions, its orientalist and its missions. Through the Lebanese and on their land history resumed the traditional fecund dialogue between the East and the West, and especially between Arab civilization and European civilization.

Lebanon's unique nature and the lengthy eras [it has experienced] have made it the ideal dialectic link between the two worlds, or rather, the two civilizations. To both worlds Lebanon is not merely a meeting or a transitional place, but it is rather a center for deriving the proper notions and rules upon which the two worlds can build their common spiritual and material interests at every stage in history. No other country can assume overnight the burdens of this cultural role which distinguishes Lebanon from all the countries of the East. There is no place for falsification and improvisation in history.

Lebanon and Freedom

Lebanon was the first country in the east to subscribe to the modern theoretical and practical concept of the democratic system. It is [also] the

only country that to this date has not stopped practicing democracy since it found out about it. Before that, during the Greek and Roman ages Lebanon had also taken part in laying down the intellectual foundations upon which the philosophy of liberties and democratic institutions was built in those two ages.

The nature and human composition of Lebanon have made it incumbent upon its people [to choose between] living in freedom or [facing] extinction. The Lebanese people are made up of spiritual and ethnic minorities who came to Lebanon in different epochs. There on shores that were open to the world and on mountain tops they made their living and found their tranquillity. In order for these minorities to become accustomed to each other and to coexist in the same society and in a common homeland, they had to agree on a system that would ensure to each one of them the means for an honorable existence and the means for self-actualization and for using their energies to serve everybody. This system could not have been established, nor could it have lasted unless it was based on an agreement that was made freely and on mutual respect. This is the free system. Accordingly, freedom for Lebanon is a question of survival or extinction more than it is one of a system of government or a point of view. Behind this inescapable fact lies the reality of Lebanon's survival, even in its darkest hour, as the only authentic representative of the democratic system in this spacious part of the world.

The deep-rootedness of free life in Lebanon stems from the depth of its reality and its history. Every country here in the east that yearns for a system of freedom turns to Lebanon just as every tormented or ill-treated person does. Whether others ascribe to it this role or not, Lebanon is the best living example, providing daily testimony to the system of freedoms everywhere in the east. Whether the world recognizes or ignores this fact, there is no doubt that the collapse of this system in Lebanon, as a result of its prolonged current predicament, will proclaim the failure of every attempt that is presently being made for democratic liberation in this entire region.

On the economic scene, among the prominent enduring [features] in the history of the Lebanese economy is the [people's] skill that is based on enterprise and the existing confidence [they have] which is based on freedom. These characteristics have made Lebanon, despite its small terrain, despite its barren soil and despite its total lack of primary materials, a country that is always flourishing and encompasses the universe regarding the diffusion of the activities and services of its people.

No scientist or historian doubts or disputes Lebanon's leadership role in serving the interests of the old and the new world. This role was based on the unique geographical location that joins three continents and connects the industrial countries and the developing countries through its shores and its land and air routes. This role was also based on the genius of a people who are distinguished by a superior ability to sail, to trade,

to speak languages [fluently], to learn the natures of people and to strengthen relations with them and on an instinct for free enterprise in the areas of business, transferring possessions, converting funds and importing and exporting [goods].

The reality of Lebanon's natural and human responsiveness to the world and its Arab affiliation have made it the preferred place for international and regional activities that concern themselves with the affairs of the Middle East and of other neighboring areas. Beirut has become the gathering place for most of the branches and regional offices of international organizations. An example of this is the fact that this city was chosen to be the location for the following UN offices: the UN Development Program; the United Nations' Children's Fund; the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees; the Economic Committee for West Asia; the joint committee charged with monitoring the truce in Palestine; the Regional Office for the International Labor Organization; and the Food and Agriculture Organization. It is also not a coincidence that Lebanon is the center for the regional consulate of the International Committee of the Red Cross, for the European Common Market Committee, for the Association of Arab Banks Affiliated with the Arab League and for the International Philanthropic Organization that is to be established in cooperation with the UNESCO Organization.

Until the events began, Lebanon had been the principal location of about 80 percent of the foreign economic organizations that do business in the Middle East. It was also the primary if not the only center for international press correspondents and for the offices of scientific and technical information and studies in the Arab world.

The Dangers That Are Threatening Lebanon's Role with Extinction

It is the momentous dangers which are threatening Lebanon's role with extinction as a result of the increase in negative factors and the present growing interplay between these negative factors on Lebanon's land and borders that prompt us to ask opinion and political leaders to take some action to save Lebanon.

What distinguishes pluralistic nations like ours, with their ethnic and religious composition, [from other nations] is the fact that their pluralism increases their prosperity and their superiority in the stages of cohesiveness and unity because they have numerous sources of spiritual and intellectual wealth and multiple common values. But when these nations go through stages of struggle and civil strife, their pluralism becomes the source of their misery and their dissolution because the numerous parts that make up these nations clash and their basic components are quick to collapse. This is what is currently happening in Lebanon.

After 6 years of polarization and practice violence is becoming entrenched in the spirits of our new generations. It is now replacing the virtues of openness and tolerance that the Lebanese citizen has been devoted to

throughout the ages as one of his dearest attributes. Violence is like rust; it erodes the roots of spiritual virtues. It is like a contagious disease that spreads among all the citizens of a nation. So is excessive hatred, which sets up floating psychological walls between people, and these soon become natural walls that separate people from each other.

The emigration of intellectuals and skilled persons was increasing during that period because of the despair that the long wait began to arouse in people's hearts. The continuation of this emigration will lead to a disaster whose least outcome will be the absence of the skills and the manpower that can alone rebuild the foundations of Lebanon's role and the facilities for its existence. Also one of the consequences of such emigration is the imbalance created in the [country's] demographic balance upon which the Christian-Islamic coexistence experiment in Lebanon is based.

The chaos to which people have grown accustomed throughout the period when the role and the influence of the state had shrunk as a result of the events that are still going on may in time create negative changes not only in the natural dispositions of citizens, but also in the nature of regimes and laws.

The most serious damage incurred by the Lebanese economy and the most serious factor that has paralyzed its growth as a result of the continuation of the current events is not lie in the installations, the buildings, the goods, the machines and the public facilities that have been destroyed, but rather in the people's loss of heart and in their agitation; these are increasingly affecting the regularity of their cycle of production.

If prolonged, this fact, which indicates the deterioration of Lebanon's social conditions at the present time, will lead to the elimination of its free economic system. For there can be no stability and no survival of economic and political freedoms in a society where chaos prevails and where a preponderant middle class does not exist.

The Expected Features of International, Arab and Lebanese Action

The major loss that the Arabs and the world would suffer as a result of the expiration of Lebanon's role can only be prevented by an international, Arab and Lebanese action that would be proportionate to the dimensions and the consequences of the loss.

Saving Lebanon's role requires above all else that the international community itself, not through a mediator or a subordinate, exercise vigilance. Lebanon's role is not a secondary role relative to any other role. The fact that the current Lebanese crisis in some of its aspects is inseparable from the Middle East crisis should not necessarily force the world to ignore Lebanon's tragedy. The methodology of postponing consideration

of this tragedy until all the questions of the region are settled is an erroneous and an unfair methodology. The proper method for dealing with each broad range crisis such as that of the Middle East is to confront it from all aspects simultaneously. Major crises are like flames of fire; whenever an air hole in front of them is overlooked, they flare up further and they spread.

It is one of Lebanon's and the world's foremost duties to work for the Palestinian cause not only because the Palestinian cause and the Lebanese cause are inseparable and not only because the Lebanese and the Palestinian people are Arab people, but rather because above all else the Palestinian cause is in itself a just cause. Briefly, the story behind this cause is the story of a people expelled from their country. They continued to fight under the brunt of the most cruel circumstances in order to return to their country or to part of their country and resume their normal life on [their] land. There is no cause that is clearer or more just than this cause in modern history.

But what would be even worse and more horrible is that the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homes would also cause the expulsion of the Lebanese from their homes or that it cause the division or partition of Lebanon. Thereby the tragedy of two nations, not that of one, would result from the same reason. Injustice cannot be wiped out by injustice. The existing problem cannot be solved by creating a new problem, but it can be solved by creating a Palestinian state on Palestinian land and by bringing back to Palestine the Palestinians who are living in Lebanon. This is what the international community must realize before it is too late. This is what the international community should commit Israel to: it should commit Israel to stop hurting the people of Lebanon and to stop violating their right to exercise their sovereignty on their land and on their borders under the guise of flimsy excuses. It is useless for Israel to try to establish a lasting peace with the Arab countries by going to extremes in its aggression on their people and their lands and by entertaining hopes of controlling their capabilities. A lasting peace will be the outcome of a daily act of faith in what is right and a commitment to that peace. What government in Israel, or rather, what generation, will realize this truth?

The fact that Lebanon has adopted the Palestinian question makes it necessary for the Palestinians to avoid making errors in their struggle to achieve their legitimate goals. Throughout history resistance movements against injustice succeeded only because those who were responsible for them fell in line with the banner of their right and respected the rights of others. The Palestinians must realize that their temporary right to struggle for their cause on Lebanese territory is necessarily limited by the permanent right of the Lebanese people to preserve the safety of their country, and especially preserve their national unity. A unified, healthy Lebanon would be the best support for the Palestinian cause. Every just cause faces a major challenge. What is facing the leaders of this cause in Lebanon at the present time is the challenge of reconciling

Lebanon's safety with the safety of working for the success of their cause. The temporary Palestinian presence in Lebanon must not exceed the boundaries of this equation. These are the boundaries within which cooperation and coexistence between the two peoples must be realized until the Palestinian state is established on Palestinian land.

On the other hand it is not at all chivalrous for fraternal Arab countries to transfer their armed struggles to Lebanon and to the ranks of Lebanese citizens while Lebanon goes through the most difficult hour of its history. Lebanon is not merely an agent working tirelessly to achieve the modern awakening and the unity of the Arabs; nor is it merely a tourist resort or attraction. Lebanon is a leader in the intellectual and political struggle; it is a model for liberation; and it is a unique test case for selecting the common Arab view on the future and on destiny. It is natural that the intellectual and political struggle which eventually results in reviving and developing the common denominators among the Arabs will become the opposite of a spiteful and belligerent struggle. The pursuit of such a destructive struggle in Lebanon is a certain violation of the sound composition of the common Arab view. At the same time it is a violation of the sound foundation upon which this view is based.

One of the first manifestations of the Arab countries' awareness of the reality of their national interests lies in their open assistance in [the effort to] protect Lebanon's role, the soundness of its national unity and the survival of its unique experience. Their duty then is to expedite their assistance to bring an end to Lebanon's crisis, to unify its ranks and to rebuild it. Doing one's duty always requires practical proof.

I find myself compelled to make one final statement. We, the Lebanese people, must admit before God and the whole world that we too have hurt ourselves. After one third of a century of total independence and after a past as glorious as ours, we were not able to protect our national unity when we were faced with a difficult test. We were also not able to set down the proper foundations for building a modern state that is based on justice and progress. We almost destroyed with our own hands the pillars of our democratic system because we have been distracted from achieving the higher interests of the state by our blind pursuit of our personal interests. Pressed by greed and by splitting up the rights of the weak we almost lost faith also in the blessing of economic freedoms. All this made our national structure an easy target for every unexpected storm.

Among the first lessons we should learn from our current predicament is that if we find the right way to overcome our flaws, we will have found the way to correct our political system and to set up our national life on constitutional and moral principles that would guarantee for society the mastery of the law as well as equality, and we will have found the way to give Lebanese groups all the conditions for human self-actualization. The right to hold others accountable stems from one holding oneself accountable.

Basim al-Jisr

Today's world is not that of Plato and Rousseau, but it is rather that of Kissinger, of intelligence and revolutions.

Today's Arabs are not the descendants of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab.

The predominance of the superpowers' interests prevents the crystallization of a single, common national will among the Lebanese.

The Lebanese Front focused on the past and ignored politics; and the National Movement focused on politics and ignored history.

The National Pact would not have failed had not Israel come into existence on Lebanon's borders.

Our friend, Dr Manwal Yunis, along with other national progressive moderates, has tried and is trying to rescue the reeling Lebanese ship which is being tossed by the winds. He is trying to anchor it to a rock of reason and logic. Although he tried in his program, "A New National Pact for Lebanon," which he published in 1978, to outline a Lebanese, constitutional-political system that would effect a practical reconciliation between the deep wishes of Muslims and Christians just as it would tie the demands of progressive people to the interests of conservatives, Dr Yunis was less realistic, although more passionate, in his recent memorandum, "Lebanon's Role in the Contemporary World." Dr Yunis addressed that memorandum to opinion and political leaders in the world--a summary of it is published in AL-MUSTAQBAL. His excuse for that may be the fact that he was addressing the world and not the Lebanese people and that he was trying to rise above the bitter facts. But this is impossible because the world to which Dr Yunis is appealing to save Lebanon is not the world of Plato, Jean Jacques Rousseau or Ghandi; and the Arab politicians to whom he is appealing for aid are not the descendants of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab or 'Ali ibn Abi Talib. Today's world is, unfortunately, rather the world of Henry Kissinger, the CIA, intelligence, international Zionism, oil, the atom and the world-wide revolution.

It is true that Lebanon has always been a permanent link between the East and the West, that the Lebanese people have "served humanity" and that Lebanon has been "a sanctuary of freedom and democracy" and "a center of international and regional activities." But it is all these characteristics and attributes that have brought disaster to Lebanon. (u: as honey attracts ants. [Actually], it is the fact that all these characteristics lacked social foundations and modern institutions that brought the Lebanese people to the predicament in which they find themselves today. A major role for a small country in which the elements of patriotism and the components of a modern state have not yet been formed is more like a loose garment or a heavy burden on a weak body: its owner stumbles over it or succumbs under its weight.

Changing Values

If the world and the Arabs are required to rescue Lebanon because of values Lebanon represented in the past or because of a role it may play in the future, let us agree first on defining these values.

At the end of this century agreement among the citizens of the same nation over common values is one of the most difficult matters [to accomplish] even if this nation were made up of one race and all its citizens subscribed to the same religion and were living in the same socio-economic standard. This is because the predominance of the superpowers' interests on the one hand, the proliferation of the means of communication on the other and the interrelationship of the destinies of nations and countries have led to the only political reality [of the present]: the values that are considered acceptable today may be objectionable tomorrow, and the opposite is true. The election of President Carter in 1976 was a victory for truth and idealism over the political and intellectual adventurism that was represented by Nixon and Kissinger. Today, the election of President Reagan is considered a victory for power and will over the tendency for peace and the humanitarian morality which were represented by Carter.

Those who are setting up the Lebanese entity historically and philanthropically on the values of freedom, coexistence and individual initiative may not be wrong, but are these values which helped the Lebanese people survive until yesterday capable of justifying Lebanon's existence in the future?

The error that was made by the Lebanese Front in its memorandum lay in its focus on the past and in its disregard for politics. Similarly, the error that was made by the National Movement lay in its focus on politics and its disregard for history. The common error that both factions made may lie in the fact that both factions tied the destiny of Lebanon to values, ideologies, theories and beliefs that undoubtedly have their appeal and their allure, but these do not stem from the real interests of the Lebanese people, and they are not related to the real major challenges that are sweeping [the future of Lebanon] at the end of the 20th century in proportion to their being subject to historical and psychological old disputes that go back to the Middle Ages.

All those who are sketching the features of Lebanon's destiny are ignoring the answer to the major question which is this: Will Israel continue [to exist] in the east through the use of force or with the Arabs' acceptance of its presence--after the national rights of the Palestinian people are restored? The second possibility is this: Will Israel be a state that is "totally isolated" from its Arab surroundings or will it become a state that "interacts" with those surroundings?

Israel, not the Palestinians

Raising such a question does in itself create a problem: how would one

answer such a question? However, not raising such a question and postponing an answer to it while waiting for a solution to the question of Palestine may be easy for all the Arab countries except Lebanon whose citizens have been divided among themselves and have been fighting each other. The degree of Lebanon's Arab affiliation has become the basis of the national problem.

The Palestinian presence in Lebanon--especially after that presence was revolutionized and armed--has undoubtedly been one of the most important reasons for the division and the fighting among the Lebanese people. But the influence that the Palestinian people have on the future of Lebanon is neither decisive nor basic, contrary to what is being imagined or said by some. If it is difficult for the Lebanese people to agree on a common form of government before the Palestinian question is solved, the mere fact of embarking on a solution, that is, recognizing the rights of Palestinians to establish a state and granting the Palestinians Palestinian passports, would turn the armed Palestinian fighters into Palestinian citizens living or working temporarily in Lebanon under Lebanese law. This would be sound historical and political logic. Any other logic that talks about settling the Palestinians in Lebanon is merely political posturing or maneuvering that seeks to awaken a desire for such a settlement or create an alarm regarding it.

The real challenge for the future of Lebanon is the establishment of Israel on its southern border and the possibility that Israel will stay there for a period of time that will not be short--and that is regardless of the basic components and the rubrics of such an existence.

The fact that Israel would continue to exist as it is existing--that is, by force--requires Lebanon to respond to the challenge by force, that is, build a defensive military force that can deter Israel. Lebanon did not do this in the past, and it seems that it is not thinking seriously about doing it [in the future], considering that the dispute among the Lebanese about the army is centered around the army's role in national and political life and not on its role in defending the borders and especially in confronting an enemy such as Israel.

But if the Israeli presence on the borders of Lebanon is recognized by the Arabs, the future of Lebanon will be different. Lebanon then would either have to withstand by itself the Israeli attempts to usurp its role in the Arab world, or it will lose its special role by merging completely in its Arab surroundings.

These serious possibilities are not being brought up now for discussion because the Palestinian question has not been solved and because the Arabs have not recognized Israel. The fact that these possibilities are not being raised now politically does not deny the fact that they are being raised for the future of Lebanon or rather for the future of every Arab country which shares borders with Israel. We have mentioned these possibilities [here] to respond to two naive views of Lebanon's future. One

of them drops Israel completely from its considerations, and the second focuses on the crisis of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

The 1943 National Pact over which Lebanese politicians and leaders are competing in calling for its downfall would not have failed or fallen had not the independence of Lebanon in 1943 been followed by the establishment of Israel in 1948. It is the Israeli presence that revolutionized the Arabs and gave them their resolve. It was the Israeli presence that alienated the Lebanese entity again after it was "Arabized" in 1943, and it was the Israeli presence that ultimately led to the conflict [between Lebanon and Arabism] and then their separation.

Some people may say that the problem of the relationship between the Arabs and Israel can be postponed and that the current and urgent problem is that of finding a solution to the problem of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. This is true with regard to the Lebanese government in its present treatment of the crisis. But when we talk about the distant future or about the justifications for a Lebanese homeland in the future, the basic factor is the Israeli challenge itself and not the pending problem between the Arabs and Israel in which Lebanon plays only a secondary or rather any role.

The Other Challenge

The other challenge which is confronting the destiny of Lebanon and which politicians are ignoring is the population challenge in general and the human socio-economic challenge more particularly.

This is because most of the leaders who talk about the destiny of Lebanon--and among them are leaders who played a prominent role in Lebanon's national and political life after independence or new leaders who aspire [to positions] in government--are ignoring the most important element in self-determination: the people. They are ignoring the Lebanese people themselves. What is helping old and new leaders envision [Lebanon's] destiny without taking into consideration the opinion of the Lebanese people or without taking their interests into account is the fact that most of the people are now denied the right to express their opinions. Legislation enacted by the Chamber of Deputies has had nothing to do with the opinion of the people for 8 years. The "effectiveness" of weapons has also not been legally endorsed yet: it was not done by the power takeover of those who are armed, and it was not done by a popular referendum. Hence, the slogans that were produced by the war and those that were endorsed by the National Accord Document appear to express the immediate and political view of the interests of the sectarian and ideological Lebanese factions and to be separate from the scientific and long-range view of the interests of the Lebanese people.

The real questions that are being raised regarding the economic and social challenges which will confront the Lebanese people sooner or later are [as follows]:

1. Will the territory of Lebanon be large enough for housing and employing 3.5 million Lebanese persons?
2. Will half the Lebanese people continue to work abroad and live in Lebanon? What effect will this fact have on the Lebanese economy?
3. Will Lebanon continue to be a country with absolute economic freedom and accordingly a country that is disorganized and socially unbalanced, with the social and economic jolts that would ensue therefrom, or will Lebanon control its economy and limit the misrepresentation of what is not plausible?

What we fear is that Lebanon may have to choose in the near future between prosperity and independence; between giving up part of its independence to preserve its economic growth and giving up some of its prosperity to preserve its sovereignty. If this is an easy matter for some European countries that gave up the 19th century notion of sovereignty, independence and national interests so they can form the European Common Market, the European Parliament and the Atlantic Pact, the subject of independence and sovereignty for the Lebanese people in a region whose people have not yet achieved the convictions and concessions that Europe and its countries have achieved, appears to be a very difficult matter indeed.

But the major challenges from which Lebanon cannot escape--and we are referring to the energy crisis, the food crisis and the environmental crisis--are best left out of the context of this discussion on destiny despite the fact that they constitute in our view the most important challenges for Lebanon, if not the basic challenges. However, Lebanon today is incapable of confronting the minor challenges, not to mention the major ones.

The Bitter Choice

Lebanon will one day have to make a choice between free capitalism that attracts prosperity, a free economy that is tempered by social justice and an authoritative socialism that threatens freedom and prosperity. In our view a free economy that is tempered by social justice and balanced growth would be a more realistic choice that would be closer to the logic of historical development.

The Lebanese people will have to make a choice between confronting the Israeli challenge militarily or peacefully, with or without the Arabs and between avoiding this responsibility or remaining neutral. Confronting the Israeli challenge economically, organizationally, militarily and economically is the only solution for the survival of Lebanon and for strengthening the unity of the Lebanese people.

Lebanon is not compelled to make a choice between political sectarianism, which endorses political feudalism and delays the establishment of a modern state, and a rightist or leftist dictatorship which would abolish

freedom. The better choice to be made is that of a social democracy, a modern state and [a system] that would gradually surmount the sectarian system.

Lebanon has to make a choice between becoming an ordinary Arab state or a secondary state with no special features or historical justifications for its existence--as some ideologues are calling for--or to become the "center of the universe" or--God forgive me--"the creator of existence." Lebanon has a third choice: it can become a modern, prosperous homeland whose citizens live under a sound economy, universal social justice and a free, democratic system of government.

Those who view Lebanon's destiny through a dogmatic, ideological analysis of history or through historical grudges that have turned into instinctive reactions that mock logic and reality err against the rights of the Lebanese people and against the rights of Lebanon. Not all the loyalty or the good intentions in the world will spare us from persisting in this error.

It is true that the critical stages in the history of modern Lebanon have been tied to the will of [other] countries--the Ottoman state in 1840; the European-Ottoman state in 1861; France in 1920; Britain and the Arab countries in 1943; and Washington and Cairo in 1958--but these foreign wills would not have forced themselves [on Lebanon] had not the Lebanese people been divided among themselves and had not their leaders been fighting over power. Nevertheless, these foreign wills did fulfill some of the people's basic wishes. These were carried out by patriotic leaders who were characterized by reason, wisdom, farsightedness and courage.

The most that the Lebanese people are hoping for today is that the super-powers and the Arab countries realize that the survival of Lebanon as an independent state, a unified homeland and a free, democratic system is in the interests of Lebanon and that the solution to the Palestinian question is the road to peace in the Middle East.

Even if this "miracle" were to take place, the only thing we can do is pray God to give us in this hour statesmen and leaders who are knowledgeable, wise and courageous and who can steer the Lebanese ship of state to the safe shore.

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LEADERS EXPRESS VIEWS ON FEDERALISM, CONFEDERALISM, DECENTRALISM

Beirut AL-ANWAR in Arabic 29, 31 Dec 80 & 1 Jan 81

[Article by Christian Awsi and Ahmad 'Izz-al-Din: "AL-ANWAR Polls Parties, Leaderships on Federalism, Confederalism and Decentralism; Paqraduni: Federalism Is Best Formula for Future Lebanon; Hawi: We Reject Decentralism But Support Discussing Guarantees for Christians; Qansuh: We Reject Federalism and Confederalism and Support Strong Central Entity; 'Adwan: No Discussion on Any Formula Before Lebanon Is Liberated From Aliens; National Liberals: Federal Republic With Presidential System; Ba'th Party: Federalism and Confederalism Drop Logic of Unification; In'am Ra'd: Priority Is for Confronting Scheme To Fragment Lebanon Into Sectarian Cantons; Abu-Arz: No Discussion on Any Formula for Future Lebanon Before It Is Liberated From Palestinian Presence"]

[29 Dec 80, p 3]

[Text] AL-ANWAR has polled the Lebanese parties and leaderships on the concepts [turuhat] of federalism, confederalism and political and administrative decentralism in an attempt to present their viewpoints objectively on these issues that are currently the subject of discussion as an alternative to the 1943 formula and as an approach to modernize that formula.

Some of the leaderships to whom the question was addressed have been reluctant, considering that they have not yet developed a clear and final position toward these concepts, whereas the parties have expressed their views frankly and profoundly.

In the first part of this series, we will present the answers of Lawyer Karim Paqaraduni, member of the Phalangist Political Bureau; George Hawi, secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party; Engineer 'Isam Qansuh, regional secretary of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party Organization; and Lawyer Geroge 'Adwan, chairman of the Organization which is a military organization affiliated with the Lebanese Forces.

While publishing the answers in the order in which they have been received by AL-ANWAR, we would like to point out that Walid Junblat chairman of the National Movement's Central Political Council and of the Progressive Socialist Party, has been content with what he had already declared, namely that he supports administrative, but not political, federalism.

The question addressed by AL-ANWAR is this:

The formulas of federalism, confederalism and decentralism are being projected for the future Lebanon. What is the difference between these formulas and which of them is the most suitable for Lebanon.

Here is the first sample of the answers:

Paqraduni: Federal Charter or "Second Republic"

Your presentation in AL-ANWAR contains two questions: A theoretical question concerning the difference between the formulas of federalism, confederalism and decentralism and an applied question concerning the best formula for the future Lebanon.

On the theoretical aspect, I will be brief and will content myself with some acknowledged generalities in interpreting the projected concepts. Confederalism is a form of unity between states whereas federalism takes care of the federal relationship between states and regulates the coexistence relationship between the citizens of the same state.

As for decentralism, there is a classical distinction between administrative decentralism and political decentralism. Administrative decentralism means the establishment of an extensive administrative system within a central system whereas political decentralism means federalism. Wherever the decentralism is administrative, the system is central and wherever the decentralism turns political, the system becomes federal. The detente principles launched by President Ilyas Sarkis call for "administrative and developmental" decentralism. Sarkis' concept of decentralism may be a step beyond the administrative concept and a step short of the political concept.

As brief as I have been on the theoretical aspect, I will be exact from the angle of diagnosing the Phalangist position vis-a-vis the best formula for the future Lebanon. The truth is that the Lebanese Phalanges Party, like the Lebanese Front, has not yet decided on a final formula. The political charter adopted by the Lebanese Front hints, without commitment, at the concept of decentralism and at the confederal and federal formulas it contains. The Phalanges Party has not and, in my opinion, will not define the final formula it proposes in the current phase because any formula set by one side will be either rejected definitely or imposed forcibly. The only natural formula is the formula that emanates from a free national dialogue in which both the Muslim and Christian Lebanese participate. The Phalanges Party has ideas on the desired formula. But it doesn't have and doesn't want to have a final formula.

I can simplify the Phalangist ideas in four points:

First, the time has come for the Lebanese to start the dialogue for finding a suitable formula for the future Lebanon. At a meeting of the Phalangist Political Bureau held last October, Pierre al-Jumayyil said: "I feel as if we are in a preparatory phase for formulating a new charter. We are living these days under the same psychological and political atmosphere in which we lived in the [early] 1940's--the years of preparation for declaring the 1943 charter." In the

Phalanges' view, the atmosphere seems convenient for starting the national dialogue which will undoubtedly be long and hard. The central question posed by the Phalanges Party is: Should we change Lebanon or the state? Do we want another Lebanon in the same state or do we want the same Lebanon in another state? The Phalanges Party has given the following answer: We want the same Lebanon in another state. We shouldn't change Lebanon but should change the Lebanese Government formula. So, the first idea is that we have a preparatory phase of dialogue to draw up a new national charter.

Second, the Lebanese war has dropped the state intellectually and structurally. Moreover, in the wake of the war, the Lebanese disagree on almost everything except two issues: Preserving Lebanon's unity on the one hand and reaching the formula for a new state on the other hand. These two starting points constitute the minimum required for creating the new charter. The closer we get to this minimum limit, the closer we get to the solution and the farther we move from this minimum, the longer we stay in the state of no-solution. We must not let the opportunity, which may be the last opportunity, slip by. So, the second idea is that the minimum limit necessary for formulating a new national charter is available.

Third, Lebanon's unity presupposes confronting partition and resettlement and spreading Lebanese sovereignty over all the Lebanese soil with the aim of preserving Lebanon within its current geographic borders as defined in its constitution. Any undermining of the homeland's sovereignty is an undermining of Lebanon's unity. Moreover, Lebanon's unity means preserving the essence of the 1943 charter, i.e., preserving the base of coexistence between the Muslims and the Christians. There can be no sovereignty without unity and there can be no unity without coexistence. But inasmuch as the Phalanges Party clings to the principle of coexistence, it so much feels the need to find a new formula for this coexistence. If Lebanon's unity is firm, the political formula is mobile and must be changeable and flexible. So, the third idea is that Lebanon's unity means clinging to the principle of coexistence between the Muslims and the Christians.

Fourth, the new political formula must preserve Lebanon's unity and must, at the same time, preserve the distinction of the Lebanese. The reason for this distinction is the Christian presence in Lebanon and in its arab environment. The Christian presence needs a guarantee. This guarantee means safeguarding the freedom of the Christian as a human being, as an individual and as a group tied to a land. The 1943 charter gave the Christian a political guarantee. The new charter must secure for him a geographic guarantee, in addition to the political guarantee. This is the fourth Phalangist idea through which I personally project federalism as the best formula for the future Lebanon.

The federalism I project is not an imported federalism or a federalism copied from the experiences of the others. It is not the federalism of Belgium, Switzerland, Yugoslavia or any of the others, and they are many and varied. I aspire for the day in which the Lebanese invest a distinctive federalism emanating from Lebanon's distinctive situation. Federalism to me is more than a political system. It is a system of life. It is a philosophy, i.e., a view of man and of the land. It is the new charter. This is why I am not flaking about an ordinary federal system or federal formula but about a "federal charter" which would be tantamount to the new contract between the Christians and the Muslims and to the new system for all

of Lebanon. The federal formula goes beyond a constitutional formula and is more comprehensive than national detente. It is both the charter and the constitution. It is the second republic.

The goal of the "federal charter" is to preserve the unity of the land, i.e., sovereignty, and the distinction of the Lebanese, i.e. freedom. The federal charter helps, moreover, to avoid the mistakes of the past, to absorb the consequences of the present war and to look forward to the future changes.

As for implementation of the federal charter, it requires an intellectual revolution equal in dimension to the military revolution that has been sweeping Lebanon for 6 years. This implementation presupposes dropping many of the traditional equations and of the inherited molds. I will content myself with citing one example: The federal logic makes a distinction between the concept of unity and the concept of unification and does not confuse these two concepts as the centralist logic does. Unity, according to the federal logic, is an act of freedom and affiliation whereas unification entails a lot of coercion. The federal charter guarantees unity of the land but does not necessarily require unification of the Lebanese, thus making them similar and equal photocopies. The federal charter preserves the right to distinction. Unity of the land is guaranteed by a "federal authority" that makes the general national decisions through national participation by all the Lebanese. The difference between the Lebanese is guaranteed through a "regional authority" that makes the general regional decisions to enrich and develop each province according to its material resources and moral capability. By merely making a distinction between unity and unification, the causes of the partition tendencies are eliminated and the confrontation situations resulting from confusing unity with unification are reduced. The federal charter is a plan for real peace for Lebanon.

It is a plan that requires a Lebanese dialogue with Arab approval and international, especially U.S. support. This plan is difficult but inevitable. There will be no peace in the Middle East without peace in Lebanon. There can be no peace in Lebanon without peace for the Christians, and we prefer it to be peace with the approval of the Muslims. There can be no peace for the Christians with the approval of the Muslims except through the federal charter.

George Hawi: Concepts That Serve Partition

I will not get involved in defining the formulas of federalism, confederalism or centralism or in listing the differences between this and that formula. However, I will assert at the outset that our Lebanese Communist Party is against all the decentralized political and security plans, against multiplicity or cantons and against the other essentially partitionist plans, regardless of how different their names.

What we are eager to underline is the need to focus on the unity of the people, the land, the homeland and the state. The basic issue faced by the country at present is not the issue of the drawbacks of administrative and developmental centralism but the dangers of the current partitionist situation and of having the legitimate authority's plan join the plan for the factional, sectarian and fascist Phalangist control of the country.

Regaining the unity of the people, land, homeland and the state, in its capacity as the central current issue, requires by necessity destroying the plan for Phalangist control by besieging and destroying this plan and not by giving the present partitionist situation a legal framework, regardless of what form this framework takes.

The projection of these formulas under the present partitionist situation which is created by the Israeli-Phalangist plan, whether in the south or in some districts of Mount Lebanon and Eastern Beirut, constitutes an attempt to entrench this situation and to give the advocates of this plan a justification to cling to their partitionist political, military, security, administrative and financial positions in the areas which they control and which they have exploited to develop their capabilities so as to move later in successive stages to impose their full control over the other areas. This requires full control over the legitimate authority and liquidation of all those who oppose, criticize or contradict the advocates of this plan.

If this is the plan of the Phalangists who have constantly dealt with the legitimate authority in accordance with a dual policy whose first aspect is to reject practically the presence of this authority in the Phalangist control areas and whose second aspect is to try to bolster Phalangist control over this legitimate authority in order to exploit its political position and its actual actions to implement the Phalangist plan in preparation for pouncing on this authority finally, then the first task facing all the forces concerned with Lebanon's independence, Arabism and democratic development is to exert efforts to regain Lebanon's unity, and not entrench the present partitionist situation, and to create a balance of forces in the country that compels the legitimate authority to confront this partitionist situation instead of joining the Phalangist plan, as happened in 'Ayn al-Rummanah.

Though we advocate a realistic visualization of some of the forms of difference existing in Lebanon and of some of the causes and manifestations of this difference, we refuse to have the advocates of the Phalangist plan hide behind this difference to project the issue of "cultural multiplicity" and to justify the creation of the distinctive sectarian entity.

We are among those who make a distinction between some feelings of anxiety on one hand and the efforts to incite and exploit fear among the Christians by the leaders of sectarianism in order to protect the privileges that sectarianism guarantees them.

This is why we are against multiplicity, regardless of what name it assumes, if it is for justifying partition. But we support an objective and serious discussion on all the possible guarantees to deal with the fears of the Christians on the one hand and with all forms of sectarian privileges on the other. Our convictions in this regard are that neither the Christians nor the other sects can have such a guarantee without the abolition of sectarianism and establishing complete democracy as the basis of the political system and of the governmental administration. It is only then that the position of the minority in a majority society will become a normal position and only then that the sectarian concept of majority and minority will be eliminated.

for the objective and realistic need for certain forms of administrative and developmental decentralism, we are eager to underline the need to proceed on the basis of focusing on the unity of the people, land, homeland and the state so that this unity may be the base and so that the various forms of administrative and developmental decentralism may bolster this unity and may not be established at its expense.

Therefore, the formulas of federalism, confederalism and of political and security decentralism that are being projected today lead to entrenching the current partitionist situation instead of eliminating this situation and regaining the unity of the Lebanese soil, people and institutions.

Lebanon Cannot Withstand Partitionist Concepts

Any talk about federalism, confederalism and decentralism must be preceded by defining the meanings and significance of these words.

Federalism is a unionist form based on two fundamental principles: The principle of unity of the state and the principle of unification to make the peoples of this country or union a single people and a single region, namely the people and region of the federal state.

At the same time, each of the united states has the right to enjoy all the power not reserved by the constitution for the federal state, keeping in mind that the federal state has a single president, a single army and a single foreign policy.

What needs to be pointed out is that each of the states united within the federal system has its own governor who is in charge of the state's executive authority. This authority concerns only the local powers not assumed by the federal state, such as powers in the spheres of family, municipal affairs, crimes, civil laws and the local economy. Is it required to establish a state in Lebanon in order to set up the federal system [sic]?

As for confederalism, it is tantamount to a "partnership" between states that agree among themselves to preserve the entity and independence of each of the states in this partnership. Each state continues to have its president, its army, its administration and its diplomatic representation. Legally, confederalism is "a group of states concluding a contract to set up among them a special joint apparatus, usually called a supreme council or some similar name, to coordinate their activities." Here, we ask: Are there in Lebanon states that need to conclude a contract among them?

On the contrary, the federal state is a reality in the full sense of the word and one that is based on its special constitution and not on a contract, such as a treaty or a charter.

The situation is totally different insofar as decentralism is concerned. The decentralized system is tantamount to a single and independent state with its united various agencies. But the province and district governors and the municipal councils in this system have independent powers.

On the basis of these definitions and in reply to the projections made by this or that front, we say that the search for a formula for the new Lebanon is a part of the crux of our tasks as a party because from the outset we have built our strategy on rejecting the prevalent formula which is based on the sectarian equation.

But our rejection of this formula doesn't necessarily mean the adoption of all or some of these projected solutions because the historical, social, economic and political circumstances which accompanied the creation of such models in the world are not present in Lebanon. The multiplicity of nationalities in the system of federal or confederal unions is a condition that doesn't exist in Lebanon. The multiplicity of religions and sects doesn't constitute in itself an objective barrier preventing the fusion of Lebanon's citizens in a single national and pan-Arab crucible.

Added to this are the entwined economic and social interests of all the areas and sects and the organic bond between these interests and the interests of the Arab homeland with which they (Lebanese interests) have been interacting and forming a complete entity since the dawn of history.

The statements we have been hearing about the so-called "cultural multiplicity" are nothing but an attempt to color the Lebanese society according to the false partitionist situation imposed on Lebanon. By virtue of the prevalent social and economic relations, the Lebanese possess instinctively the unity of tastes, vision and common customs.

We pose here an important and urgent question that answers itself:

Why think of restructuring Lebanon on this or that basis? Has it become impossible to return to the sphere of the single Lebanon?

We believe that all the elements for the reunification of Lebanon are still present and that this reunification is more urgent than ever before and is demanded at the popular level more strongly than ever before.

Here, we must focus on the aspirations of the Lebanese public opinion which now clings to the unity of its society and homeland more strongly than ever before.

But the issue requires a short pause to discuss some of the bases that must be corrected while we, as Lebanese, are reunifying our country.

At the outset, we must underline our absolute rejection of the proposed formulas as a substitute for the Lebanese formula out of our concern for Lebanon's interest and out of our harmony without unionist pan-Arab principles.

To clarify this, we say that federalism and confederalism are rejected in part and parcel because they bear within their folds the seeds of division, fragmentation and partition and because they do not solve the dilemma of sectarianism from which we suffer but rather lead to the deterioration of this dilemma and to entrenching its psychological, social and political effects, especially since the distribution of the population within the projected unionist frameworks is based on sectarian majority in this or that area.

There are also other perils that are likely to widen the gap between the two or more sides to the proposed union (continued on page 10). [TN: Page 10 not sent with job].

George 'Adwan: Lebanon for Those Who Take Part in Liberating It

We proceed on the basis of three fundamental principles in discussing any formula, namely:

First, the major part of Lebanon is occupied at present. As a Lebanese resistance, our present duty is to liberate the homeland, the land and man. Our present duty is to liberate Lebanon, all of Lebanon, from the aliens--the aliens to the country and the aliens in their loyalty. Consequently, the discussion on any of the currently projected formulas before the liberation of all of Lebanon means ceding a part of Lebanon to a non-Lebanese faction. This is something that we consider treason. The Lebanese-resistance will not cede a single inch of the homeland and it has declared repeatedly its full commitment to the complete liberation of all of Lebanon.

Second, after its liberation, Lebanon the homeland will belong to those who have participated or will participate in the liberation action. The Sunni or Shi'ite Muslim and the Druze citizen in Lebanon who has so far taken the position of a spectator or that of collusion with the aliens must understand this fact and act on its basis.

Third, the essential premise for any formula after liberation among those who will take part in the liberation is, insofar as we are concerned, the premise of securing a future that guarantees the freedom and security of our Christian entity and society within the framework of a homeland in which the Christian does not wish for himself that which he doesn't wish for his brother, whatever his brother's faith. We are no longer prepared to disregard our previous experiences and the sacrifices of our martyrs and to expose our entity and our society to dangers and catastrophes.

[31 Dec 80, pp 4, 13]

[Text] In the second part of its poll of the leaderships and parties on federalism, confederalism and decentralism, AL-ANWAR publishes today the reply of Lawyer Musa Burnus, the National Liberal Party information secretary, and the reply of Rafiq Abi-Yunus, member of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party's Regional Command, in the order in which they have been received by the paper.

Lawyer Burnus has said that the National Liberal Party did project confederation in an earlier phase but that after the experience of the past events the party has become more convinced that federalism is the ideal formula for the future Lebanon.

Burnus has given AL-ANWAR exclusively a study which he has written on the issue to be published in a book shortly.

Rafiq Abi-Yunus believes that the concepts of federalism and confederalism are based on multiplicity and that such multiplicity does not exist in Lebanon nationally, economically or socially.

Abi-Yunus says that those who speak of the dual reality in Lebanon proceed from political class realities to generalize their views on a multiplicity that has no grounds objectively or historically.

The member of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party Regional Command concludes that the concepts of federalism and confederalism entrench the fabricated division in the Lebanese society and drop the logic of unification or of union which constitutes the only approach capable of solving Lebanon's political and economic problems.

Here is first the reply of Lawyer Musa Burnus and then that of Abi-Yunus:

Musa Burnus: Presidential System in Federal Republic

The Lebanese crisis was beginning to escalate in the fall of 1975 when we proposed openly two plans for the future Lebanon, one federal and one confederal, coupled with two maps and two organigrammes (as published in English) (see appendix). At the time we clung to federalism intentionally after having abandoned confederalism temporarily for fear of sliding toward partition, especially after the bloody events worsened and the crisis in Lebanon intensified. In our view, federalism is capable of preserving Lebanon's unity now that the formula of superficial unity and of sectarian union which led to the 1943 formula has failed and fallen abysmally. So, we projected federalism at the time as an instrument for fighting partition in a complete and integrated study in both Arabic and French and defined this federalism within a constitutional political study entitled "Combattre la partition par la Federation" whereas the title on the study in French on confederalism was "La confederation ou l'harmonie entre deux affirmations." These "slogan-like titles" have become, despite us, a memory for history in a country where both slogans and currents have become numerous.

The reaction to the above has been an impulsive and very haphazardly uproar on the part of the allegedly unionist (actually partitionist) faction which has attributed to us the ugliest descriptions unfairly, calling us traitors, agents, leaders of the isolationist partition plans and so forth. May God forgive this faction for its lies because "the consequences of tyranny are grave." Moreover, the other faction which has become certain of the failure of the unity formula and which has been fighting for 6 years for the survival of Lebanon, remained a spectator throughout a long period of time and then awakened from its deep sleep to adopt federalism. We, on our part, kept silent unwillingly while fully believing that a federal formula will ultimately prevail over all the solutions proposed here and there in order to preserve multiplicity in Lebanon in whatever is built on honesty and objectivity in the worlds of science and patriotism (sic).

But now that the overwhelming majority of the two disputing factions in Lebanon has acknowledged two facts, namely the fall of the old unity formula and the emergence of a dynamic federal current seeking a formula suitable for Lebanon, we remind anew—with utter modesty, with scientific objectivity and with loyalty to Lebanon—of a proposed draft solution, not to say solution boastfully, after having already presented in the above study (a) a plan for the phases of detente through constructive dialogue, beseeching God, may He be praised, to open the minds, to clear the intentions, to reveal the hidden and to guide our steps in Lebanon so that we may all lift our redeemed homeland from its bloody and annihilating

catastrophe and so the government officials and the leaders may not wait 5 more years to approve the presented study after having waited 5 years to agree to study the federal formula in Lebanon as one of the political formulas capable of preserving the unity of the land, of the people and of the institutions, as all--without exception--claim they want.

It is only for the sake of reminding that we recall here what we said 5 years ago on the pages of the press and in publications in both Arabic and French which reached the west after having spread in all parts of the country, keeping in mind that some people tore up what we wrote, others ignored it and yet others read it only to come up with it recently (as if it were their own), including the opponents, supporters and threat makers. Thanks to all of them. It is rightly said that it is enough honor for whomever is small like me to be grateful, leaving it for the future alone to assess matters either disapprovingly, appreciatively or critically.

First, Lebanon Between National Unity and Political Unity

In an editorial published in the 1978 annual edition of SAWT-AL-AHRAR [Voice of the Free] and entitled "In Contribution to the Solution and not in Bargaining Over Solution," we said from our special angle and out of honesty with ourselves, loyalty to our patriotism and love for all the Lebanese:

"May God conscience and the history of our social and political life and of our services to Lebanon and to the Arab world be the witness that we have tried humbly with our projection of a federal-confederal plan for discussion to contribute to a solution and not to bargain over a solution because everything in Lebanon has been based on bargaining so far.

"We have tried to break the wall of utter silence. With this modest endeavor of ours, we have tried again after seeing the hell of fire and blood in the war of annihilation. We have also tried to penetrate the fog of deceptive names by calling things by their real names, by facts, by riddles, by flaming embers and by turbulent ashes (sic). We tried, among other things, to overcome the maelstrom of regurgitated words and to reach the firm shore of realism based on the Lebanese history and nature.

"Isn't everybody saying at the top of his voice that there can be no return to the past and that there can be no appeasement [bawn liha] from now on?

"Hasn't the phrase 'the future Lebanon' which all want overtaken the pages of all the papers and obstructed the flow of words in the beautifully written articles, in the resounding speeches and in the political rallies without anybody contributing to building a layer or a single brick?"

To this effect also, we wrote the following verbatim in the annual edition of that year's AL-JARIDAH:

"It is time to come up with a basic solution and not, as usual, with a sedative, provided that it is a solution that satisfies the Lebanese who is sincere in his patriotism and provided that it is an ideal formula emanating from the recognition of the rights of others and seeking to build a Lebanese nation on two positive aspects and not two negative aspects, as they did at the time of independence.

"Isn't it truly time for us to pass from the maelstrom of embellished words to the sphere of proven facts stated secretly by some and whispered by others. Isn't it time for us to have the courage to break the wall of silence and to present the fateful issues for scientific discussion, at least, keeping in mind that it has almost become an infidelity to adopt science in the lighthouse of learning--Lebanon?"

"Ignorant silence at times, false silence at others and treasonous at yet other times has led us to the political catastrophe under which we have been living recently and whose roots go back not only to leftist Palestinian encroachments and sectarian economic and social maneuvers but also, and in particular, to a government crisis emanating from circumventing the concepts of authority and government. It is a crisis of authority and government in managing a crisis created by the government."

We added in another part of the article:

"From the outset of the recent bloody events, I have wanted to translate my words and thoughts into political, social and other maps and to urge others to go beyond words and statements to contributing to finding a basic solution that satisfies all and agrees with all insofar as fundamentals, and not backgrounds, are concerned. But we have been facing a faction calling for tying the church with the state, another calling for separating the church from the state, another faction that accepts no alternative to dual loyalty, another faction that accepts conditional dual loyalty, another faction that considers itself part of a whole and yet another faction that believes that it lives in the first and ultimate homeland and the homeland of all. Lebanon is found in historical, social, political and sectarian differences that have their value--differences united from the start in a false union. This is what the others refuse to see, either out of ignorance, shortsightedness or premeditated intentions. This union has led us to our present situation after numerous upheavals, of which the most famous are the ones which took place in 1952, 1958, 1967, 1969, 1972, 1973, 1975 and 1976--not to mention the failure to take any measures other than warnings. As a result, there has been a collapse at all levels and there has been death and destruction. As for the real explosion, meaning the entity explosion, it hasn't happened yet, God be thanked. We have viewed the principled decentralized federal solution as a means for averting this explosion and viewed the confederal plan, as generally outlined in our aforementioned study, as a means of leading us toward the aspired secularization. As for federalism, it is tantamount to future steps on the path of phased secularism. Separating church from state doesn't mean making the state hostile to any particular religion. If some people, under the pretext of abolishing job sectarianism--which is somekind of a solution intended for fooling people--cannot really accept this complete and comprehensive liberation which alone is capable of making Lebanon the homeland of man, then let us again call for federalism or confederalism as agreed upon by all. (Let us call for agreement) on the expected federalism which alone can restore right to its owners in the Lebanon we want--the Lebanon of distinctions and not the Lebanon of privileges, as they allege."

"The proposal of federalism is intended, in our view and in the view of every loyal person who examines the Lebanese social and political affairs carefully, for saving Lebanon and not partitioning it. The 'ideal plan' is a federal or confederal democratic and non-sectarian Lebanese state in accordance with the popular will, and perhaps in accordance with the local capacity and the new conditions developing on the Lebanese arena--a state including cantons or provinces in the federal system and mini-states in the confederal system, with some adopting secularism and others

being content with political and administrative non-sectarianism and with a little sectarianism at the top of the pyramid in recognition of a historical right and as a political guarantee for a weak minority faction [Christians] afraid of the numerical majority [Muslims] in this [Middle] East. All this while reminding that Lebanon has always been a union of minorities."

Second, Regarding Ideal Union Plan

As for the characteristics of the dual union (federal or confederal) plan as we projected it in the press in 1975 with the aim of opening the dialogue for uniting Lebanon after adopting the best system and the one acceptable to all, the following are some of these characteristics:

1. Saving Lebanon with its natural borders from al-Naqurah to al-Nahr alKabir and from the Mediterranean to the Eastern Range and putting an end to oneupmanship on patriotism and Lebanism among all.
2. Enabling all the factions to realize their entity within their special environment and national interaction.
3. Putting the national trust above all suspicions because each part of Lebanon can preserve its special characteristics without slandering the genuine Lebanese qualities. Lebanon will thus become a meeting place of distinctions and not of privileges.
4. Proceeding according to the logic of history which imposes scientifically favoring unions over unity.
5. Entrenching the Lebanese units as a geographic and historical fact. The fault in the structure is more of a fault in the assembling than in the nature of the elements.
6. Declaring Lebanon a historical unity and not a formula born by the French mandate, as the volunteers of both factions claim.
7. Saving Lebanon from partition which would be tantamount to an economic, social and political catastrophe in the long run.
8. Acknowledging that the historical, geographic and social situation in Lebanon is a Middle Eastern situation, without denying Lebanon's special characteristics and its absolute sovereignty which is recognized by the western world and the Arab world.
9. Giving the world the chance to keep the faith that Lebanon is open to all the cultural currents without exception, taking from the east what is good and from the west what is better. We should keep in mind that making Lebanon smaller means humiliating it and humiliating it means a sentence against its existence. Lebanon is big and small at the same time.

10. Avoiding regional independence-oriented obstacles and upheavals.
11. Avoiding the conflicts that may emerge in small, narrow and repressed societies.
12. Preserving the universal mission of the federal Lebanon because it is the ideal formula of a society with multiple nationalities, dualities and religious beliefs.

Consequently, we say that the federal plan, now that we have put aside the confederal plan in this proposal for the aforementioned reasons, should provide for a constitutional preface acknowledging in writing Lebanon as a permanent federal union in an independent, eternal, non-phased entity within its present borders, with national sovereignty and a special characteristic which it insists on preserving and as a member of the Arab League and the United Nations.

The proposed federal union includes four governorates or provinces. We say this as an example and not as a determination. Everything, with the exception of the essence, is subject to change and alteration. Whoever opposes the plan after careful, positive and objective study and examination must give us the alternative. These provinces are:

- A. Mount Lebanon province with B'abda, 'Alayh, Bhandun, Brummana, al-Mutayn, Ghazir or Byblos (preferably Brumanna) as its capital. This province will include the present Mount Lebanon Governorate, in addition to the district of al-Batrun, al-Kurah, al-Jubbah, al-Zawiyah and Zgharta in the north, the district of Zahlah in al-Biq'a' and Jazzin and Marj'uyun in the south.
- B. North Lebanon province: Its capital will be Tripoli and it will include the remaining part of the North Lebanon Governorate, in addition to the districts of Ba'labakk and al-Hirmil.
- C. South Lebanon province: Its capital will be Sidon or al-Nabatiyah (preferably al-Nabatiyah) and it will include the remaining part of the South Lebanon Governorate, in addition to Western al-Biq'a' District and Hasbanyya.
- D. Beirut province: It will be bordered by the Kfar Shima bridge to the south and the town of al-Kahhalah to the east--it will include the Beirut International Port, the port, the presidential palace, and the Ministry of Defense--by al-Kalb River to the north and by the sea to the west. Its capital will be Beirut which will also be the federal capital of the Lebanese union.

The presidential system will apply at the provincial and state levels. The president and the vice president and the governor and deputy governor of each state will be elected by the people directly and for an unrenovable 5-year term. The powers of the president and of the governor will be the same as those of the president and of state governors in the United States. The voting age for both the presidency and governorship will be 21 and the candidacy age will be 45.

As for the sect of the president of the federal state, the Lebanese minorities, keeping in mind that Lebanon is a union of minorities, have met and agreed among themselves that until the system of secularization or internationalization [sic] is established, the president of the Lebanese federal union will be a Maronite as a guarantee to allay the fears of the Christian minorities and in recognition of the senior religious sect in Lebanon. The religion of the vice president will be Islam for the sake of balance. The sect of the province governors and their deputies is not set.

The Lebanese federal union system will guarantee the freedom of belief, expression and action within the limits of the regional and federal interests. It will also guarantee the freedom of movement between all the provinces without the freedom of transferring the civil status records, unless in accordance with the regional and federal laws.

A. Regarding Structural System of Official Public Institutions:

1. Regarding regional governorship:

1. Abolition of sectarianism in regional popular representation, administration, judiciary, the gendarmerie, the security forces and so forth.

There should be no sectarianism in any cabinet formed by the governor on his own and the governorate must taken into consideration the principle of separating parliament membership from cabinet membership. In case any deputy is appointed a minister, his membership as a deputy must be dropped mandatorily and his seat be filled by an alternate throughout the governorship term.

A legislative assembly elected on the basis of the mini-district (2-4) and a representative for every 10,000 voters.

The assembly's term is 3 years for a full session and 6 months for the election of the assembly chairmanship and body.

The voting age is 18 and the candidacy age 25.

Women's liberty and political rights are complete in the provinces, as well as in the federal government and councils.

2. Regarding Federal Parliament:

Abolition of political sectarianism in the federal representation, federal management and federal judiciary at all levels. This parliament should be formed on the basis of one representative per 15,000 voters and according to the mini-district system pertaining to the election of the representative councils in the provinces.

Popular regional and federal representation may not be combined.

The federal legislative assembly's term is 4 years for a full parliamentary session and 6 months for the election of the assembly's chairmanship and body.

Voting age is 18 and candidacy age is 25.

Parliament and cabinet membership may not be combined. In case a deputy is appointed a minister, his parliament membership is dropped mandatorily and he is replaced by the alternate in his district.

3. Regarding Federal Senate:

Adoption of political sectarianism in the senate on the basis of an equal number of Christian and Muslim senators, provided that the number of the said senate members does not exceed 60 members who are elected by the people directly. Thus, 30 seats will be for the Christian sects and 30 for the Muslim sects.

A. Senate elections are conducted on the basis of the election and sectarian districts, as outlined in the map, provided that the voting age is 21 at least and the candidacy age is 45.

B. Combining the senate membership with membership of the regional or federal cabinet must be banned completely. In case a senator is appointed to a regional or federal ministerial position, his membership in the senate must be dropped mandatorily and partial elections must be conducted in his province.

The senate term is 6 years and one third its members are dropped every 2 years. The duration of the senate presidency and the senate body is 2 years.

D. The senate majority is a dual majority, meaning that it is required to consist of the majority of the Christian bloc and the majority of the Muslim bloc, i.e., a majority of 32 votes with 16 votes from each bloc.

4. Regarding Federal Professional, Economic and Social Council:

This council is elected by the professional, economic and social groups in the entire country and without age or sect limitation.

5. Regarding Federal Government:

It is formed by the head of the federal state at his own responsibility and without any sectarian or regional considerations, seeking in the members ability and concern for the public Lebanese interest. This cabinet is formed with the approval of the senate, i.e. like in the U.S. system.

B. Regarding powers, we say:

A. Regarding general powers of federal representative assembly:

The federal powers and laws are defined specifically, in contrast to the regional laws. These powers and laws pertain principally to:

1. The federal institutions, such as the administration, judiciary and army.
2. Foreign policy, national defense and the federal national security agencies.

3. Development of the human resources--education, health, labor and social security affairs and the various social services--taking into consideration the recommendations of the provincial assemblies.
4. Determining matters pertaining to residence of foreigners and to all citizenship and immigration issues.
5. Financial and customs issues, the national economy, international transportation and communication and development of the natural resources.
6. Civil status issues pertaining to the issuance of a Lebanese civil law that is not binding to the four provinces and that gives each province the freedom to make this law compulsory and to adopt whatever measures the province deems necessary to attain full secularization in the future and to abolish the mention of sect from the identity card while maintaining it in the official records for the purpose of the senate elections.

B. Regarding senate powers:

1. Watch the constitutionality of the laws and propose or adopt proposals for constitutional amendments with a 75 percent majority, provided that the popular councils of three provinces approve the amendment with a majority of two thirds within one full year after the senate's approval.
2. Elect a supreme court from among its members to try the president of the federal republic and the chairman and members of the federal cabinet insofar as the crime of high treason and gross error [negligence], is concerned.
3. Approve and terminate the state of war.
4. Approve all international treaties before they become valid and also abolish these treaties. This is in addition to declaring international neutrality--a declaration which requires 75 percent of the total senate members, regardless of sectarian blocs.

As for the other noticeable powers, they belong to the other representative legislative authority.

As for the administration, ability must be adopted at all levels and job sectarianism must be abolished from all the federal executive agencies that are directly controlled by and accountable to the president of the state.

In the judiciary, ability must be adopted at all levels and job sectarianism must be abolished, along with acknowledging the freedom of the judiciary on the basis of abidance by the principle of the independence and cooperation of all the regional and federal government authorities. This is in addition to setting up the federal court according to the same pattern and with the same conditions.

In the army, the principle of ability must be adopted at all levels and sectarianism must be abolished, provided that the army have the command authority on important military matters, meaning that there must be an army commander assisted by a command council [formed] without any sectarian consideration.

C. Regarding the economic, social and cultural system:

The economic, social and cultural system of the federal Lebanese state presupposes, among other things:

1. Adoption of the system of controlled free economy and fighting monopolies at all levels.
2. Securing social justice and equal opportunities, rights and duties for all the Lebanese.
3. Implementation of a unified national program of education and culture under the supervision of the federal government while taking into consideration the recommendations of the provincial governments and councils concerning the special distinctions resulting from multiplicity.
4. Establishment of national institutions and social services that lead to enhancing the standard of prosperity for all the Lebanese under the supervision of the federal government. These services include free education, public health and various forms of social security.

The rational unity for Lebanon, with the situation being what we have pointed out, is the federal unity that preserves the distinctions and not the privileges, multiplicity and not variance, thus preserving the unity of the various parts of the country and the unity of the people with their varied and over-renewed cultures and their complementary and ever-renewed languages (sic). The presence of the cultural and harmonious religious sects is nothing but a great treasure, and not a burden, for the greater Lebanon. With the abovementioned, the homeland of the cedars will become a close-knit cultural union with an integrative, and not a secessionary, quality, and not a bunch of conflicting currents that threaten its destiny and entity at every moment by threatening its security, its stability and the essence of its existence.

The formula based outwardly on political unit and actually on the federal sectarian unity--i.e., the 1943 formula--has failed. The political unity they are advocating in Lebanon these days is fit only under the canopy of complete and comprehensive secularization that unites loyalty before uniting the parts [of the country], that unites the hearts before the pockets and that unites, especially, the civil status laws because they are among the basic and formative laws of a national society. Such a unity will eliminate the differences in rights and duties because the abolition of political sectarianism without secularization is like weaving on a hand loom in the age of the machine.

Abi-Yunus: Ba'th Against Federalism, Confederalism

The constitutional aspect in the federal, confederal and decentralized formulas and the differences in the application of each of these formulas are not as important as the practical basis of the emergence of these constitutional theories in the world's political thought.

The basis of the presence of these theories and formulas lies in some societies' objective need for development and formation. The reasons and elements of this basis are due to the developing economic, security and political needs emanating from vastness of the existing state or political unit.

A big state with enormous geographic expansion may find an objective justification for adopting the formulas of federalism or confederalism. The same applies to a state with numerous nationalities or races.

These formulas came into existence only after the emergence of a state map containing such geographic, economic, political or national multiplicity as to permit the adoption of such a theory. Rather, the theory is the result of the existence of such multiplicity.

However, the differences between these two theories pose no problem, considering that both federalism and confederalism are models that emerge when there is a multiplicity of political units and when these units find themselves in an urgent and pressing need for unification. This unification takes various forms in which the difference appears in the powers given to the central state and the powers given to the other states, especially in the spheres of foreign policy, defense and the army.

The U.S., Soviet or even the Swiss model constitutes the most obvious model of what we believe because it emanates from national, geographic or geopolitical origins.

The objective and historical basis for the application of these theories is multiplicity. Does this multiplicity apply to Lebanon?

The Lebanese reality is not a reality of multiplicity in the cultural or historical sense. Neither economic multiplicity exists, considering that there isn't in Lebanon a one-sided economy, nor national multiplicity exists because there aren't in Lebanon nationalities, not in terms of historical origins nor in terms of race, language or socio-economic origins or in the will for joint life.

As for those advocating the ethnic reality in Lebanon, they proceed on the basis of political class situations to generalize their thoughts which can find no objective roots historically or in the present reality. The different ways of life [al-furuqat al-ma'ishiyah] in Lebanon do not build multiplicity, else the capitalist world would be a flagrant multiplicity. The intellectual and educational differences do not build a self-contained nation. In the historical balance, the sectarian reality cannot produce different cultures, though it does produce different concepts, and the sectarian factor has nothing to do with the national issue. Therefore, there is no multiplicity in Lebanon even though there are political conflicts.

When multiplicity is nullified, the political forms for its application also become null. Lebanon's Muslims do not constitute a self-contained people or a self-contained nation and Lebanon's Christians do not possess such qualities. Religion does not create a nationality and a sect does not create a nationality or a nation. The Lebanese people are a single people.

Let us now talk about the application of these formulas in their current political sense.

The idea urging the need to apply one of these formulas in a country like Lebanon because of political necessities and on the grounds of the argument that the consequences of the war make it necessary to set up a federal or confederal situation now that the loyalties of the Lebanese are divided and that they are polarized into two conflicting frameworks--this idea constitutes a serious precedent in the first place, a backward precedent in the second place and a conspiratorial precedent in the third place, not to mention the fact that it is not an alternative to the reasonable solution and does not have anything to do with the logic of history from all its humanitarian, historical or economic angles. Rather, it is an idea that is in conflict with the logic of development and with Lebanon's social structure.

It is a serious precedent because it entrenches the fabricated division in the Lebanese society and because it drops, in all its federal and confederal forms, the logic of unity or unification which is the only approach capable of solving Lebanon's political and economic problems.

It is also a serious precedent because it is not an economic federation made inevitable by the geographic or living conditions. This idea emanates from purely political premises, considering that it is intended for dealing with an existing political problem and that the need for this idea will end with the disappearance of the causes of this problem.

In other words, Lebanese federalism or confederalism, should either materialize, would be necessarily a federalism or a confederalism of sects. It would also be a federalism of tribes and ghettos and not, as proven by history, a federalism of vast provinces, the smallest of which is many times Lebanon's size. This is on top of the fact that such a federalism lacks the simplest of its elements--the geo-economic element--considering that all the historically formed federal or confederal states were made inevitable by the vast area of the central state, by the remoteness of the other states or provinces from one another and by the economic integration of all the states involved. If these federal states have emanated from economic, security, geographic and national needs, then Lebanon's federalism will not be so. Lebanon hardly possesses the components of a state, so how can it gain the elements of a federation or a confederation covering a vast area?

This is one aspect. The other aspect emerges in the form of this federation which will turn into a sectarian farm or a sectarian company or into groupings and tribes. Let us try to imagine the picture of a federal or confederal Lebanon in such a situation! If the 1943 charter has produced the state of Lebanon and divided the country into a partnership between two sectarian factions, even though the division is discreet and undeclared, then federalism or confederalism will open the door not only to the sectarian element to determine the Lebanese identity and future but also for the denominational and tribal element, for the bullies of each quarter and for whoever can form a gang or a group working for him in Lebanon. This federalism or confederalism will definitely produce Lebanon's sectarian mini-states.

If the 1943 charter has created the sectarian Lebanon and given it a political form according to sectarian lines, then federalism or confederalism will create the denominational Lebanon which will quickly disappear in the face of entangled interests and multiple inclinations.

The more serious aspect of such a situation would be the reflection of this situation on the Arab situation and on the Lebanese situation itself. Federalism or confederalism is a defeatist, partitionist and racist formula that will have negative ramifications on the Arab situation. If the equation saying that retreat brings further retreat and progress brings further progress is true, then any defeatist or partitionist formula will inevitably lead to similar formulas in the Arab situation which is currently going through a phase of fatal retreats. If the contagion of the Lebanese war, which is essentially a reflection of the Arab and international conditions in the area, has spread into other Arab countries and if the winds of this war have spread the poisons of the secessionist and partitionist tendencies, then what would political formulas bolstering and entrenching this partitionism in Lebanon do? Consequently, all forms of contagion will spread into these countries within the framework of the peaceful solutions or of similar solutions aimed against the Arabs as a nation and against their national unity and liberation.

1. This idea [of federalism or confederalism] is backward because it doesn't emanate from objective needs imposed by the objective reality (namely the geo-economic reality) with its historical background. Rather, this idea is tantamount to a constructional idea that has no relationship whatsoever with the reality.

If we want details [then here they are]: If the U.S., Soviet or even Swiss model has emanated from geographic, economic and security needs and if it has been born naturally, then the Lebanese model will be one brought to existence by a caesarean. In addition to the fact that Lebanon cannot absorb such formulas that are tailored for vast countries, dressing Lebanon in the robe of federalism or confederalism would be tantamount to a strange act that is alien to Lebanon's reality, meaning that such federalism or confederalism will not be born by real and objective needs.

As for the statement that only these formulas can preserve Lebanon which has been shattered by its conflicts, it is a refuted statement because Lebanon can only recover from its conflicts if the Arab situation is healthy. This means that in case any change occurs in the Arab situation in the direction of unity and of realizing the national goals, then this change will affect Lebanon. To put it more clearly, a national liberationist tide will restore Lebanon's unity as the Arab retreat has pushed Lebanon to the brink of disintegration and partition.

Here, we should not forget the intrinsic will of Lebanon and of the Lebanese. But this will is not the only possible condition for developing Lebanon and for determining the quality of its future.

2. The idea is a conspiratorial idea because it is the antithesis of unification and revival and because it is one of the main elements of the peaceful solution plot which calls for dismantling or rearranging the Arab situation in such a manner as to guarantee the continued realization of the interests of world

imperialism and of Zionism. Ultimately, these formulas are tantamount to a timid partition, an undeclared partition or a partition hiding its face behind a sieve. Rather, they entrench fragmentation and division not only in Lebanon but in the entire Arab area.

Moreover, the application of federalism, confederalism or political decentralization in Lebanon will have other consequences at the level of Lebanon itself. If the previous form of Lebanon's unity has not been able to stand fast and has been shaken during and after the war, then how would a federal or confederal Lebanon do? It will definitely encourage the (federalized) forces to strip away a part of Lebanon and declare their mini-state in it when the conditions for the success of such a declaration become available, especially since the Lebanese federal or confederal forces are sectarian and denominational federal entities.

As for political decentralism, it only differs from these ideas by being less dangerous and influential by virtue of the fact that it doesn't bear the imprint of partition and does not entrench partition directly. But ultimately, it is a form of undeclared partition.

Political decentralism turns into a dangerous formula in case the central state weakens. This legal condition also encourages the emergence of cases of secession.

As for the administrative decentralism which finds its justifications in the developmental needs of the provinces, it doesn't form the ideal solution even though it constitutes one of the applicable formulas, considering that it is not in conflict with the logic of state unification or with the state's centralism. Functional administrative decentralism is possible in the short run, and the short run only. It is, in our view, a phased solution that cannot form a strategic solution because the strategic solution for Lebanon's crisis lies in a Lebanese unity based on the detente of all the Lebanese in this phase, on Lebanon's Arabism and on guaranteeing the Palestinian resistance's right to struggle for regaining the land.

The natural phased solution to the Lebanese crisis, as viewed by our party--the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party--is embodied in a national detente plan based on Lebanon's unity and Arabism, on terminating the relations of some factions with the Zionist enemy and on non-intervention by others in Lebanon's domestic affairs. This can be realized through dialogue among all the parties involved and through their agreement on common denominators that preserve for the country the elements of its survival, that obstruct partition or the application of other partitionist formulas and that determine Lebanon's relations with the others in light of acknowledgement of Lebanon's Arabism, of implementing Lebanon's Arab and international agreements and of adoption of the principle of equal opportunities for all of Lebanon's citizens to create their united future.

[1 Jan 81, 1 3]

[Text] In the third part of AL-ANWAR's poll of the Lebanese parties and leaderships on federalism, confederalism and decentralism, In'am Ra'd, the Syrian Social National Party chairman, and Ityan [Etienne] Saqr, al-Arz [Cedar] Guards commander, talk from two different positions and two conflicting logics. Each has his own school, his intellectual and national inclination and his different view on the roots and causes, solutions and approaches to the Lebanese crisis.

The Syrian Social National Party believes that the priority should be given to confronting what it calls "the onslaught of the Israeli scheme seeking to fragment Lebanon into sectarian cantons as a starting point toward fragmenting Lebanon's national environment."

In'am Ra'd believes that throughout the past 6 years, there has been an active plot to realize this strategic goal of the enemy's. The Syrian Social National Party chairman concludes by saying that "our commitment and our struggle are the means to the people's and soil's unity."

Al-Arz Guards commander believes that the formulas projected as an alternative to the national charter are some sort of a diversion exercised by way of detente.

In his analysis of the Lebanese situation, Abu-Arz [Etienne Saqr], gives the catastrophe causes other than those projected by many, attributing this catastrophe not to the Lebanese system but to the armed and unarmed Palestinian presence, in addition to the "Syrian occupation."

Ityan [Etienne] Saqr, al-Arz Guards commander, says that projecting these formulas in this phase is very similar to the case of a dying cancer patient who catches a cold. Physicians gather around him to focus on and treat the cold. The cold is the formula and the cancer is the Palestinian.

Abu-Arz asserts: "There will be no discussion of the formula and of detente before Lebanon, all of Lebanon is liberated or rather purged of the armed Palestinian presence, and especially the unarmed presence, and of the Syrian presence."

In'am Ra'd: Priority To Confronting Israeli Scheme

The issue does not lie in studying formulas for a system of state in Scandinavia or Switzerland, meaning that the discussion is not on comparing between federalism, confederalism and decentralism in an absolute manner that overlooks the objective conditions of the society and state concerned and of the dangers and plots facing this state.

In this phase, Lebanon is facing the onslaught of the Israeli scheme. The documents of the protagonists of this scheme, whether in the form of Ben Gurion's, Sharit's and Sasson's letters or in the form of Sharit's memoirs, were revealed in the 1950's. This scheme seeks to fragment Lebanon into sectarian cantons as a starting point for fragmenting Lebanon's national environment. Throughout the past 6 years, the scheme has been working ceaselessly to realize this strategic goal of the enemy's. Any discussion on these formulas overlooking this bitter fact is a discussion in the absolute or a discussion from the position of plotting. Our commitment is to the unity of the people and the soil and our struggle is the means for the people's and soil's unity.

As for decentralism as a framework for facilitating government dealings and for devoting greater attention to the provinces, this formula can be discussed after the passage of some time during which Lebanon regains the central unity of its soil, people and institutions and during which the plot to bring about Lebanon's sectarian fragmentation--a plot which flows into the hostile Israeli scheme--is foiled.

Abu-Arz: New Endeavors To Divert Attention of Lebanese

Ityan Saqr (Abu-Arz) has said:

I am against bringing up the issue of formulas under this particular circumstance for several reasons, the most important being:

First, the talk about the formula and formulas is very much like the talk about the detente which the regime has embraced and with which it has preoccupied the people for 4 full years.

This is why we have said that the regime's policy is one of diversion and distraction and nothing more or less.

At the outset, the talk was about the so-called detente and we raised the slogan of "detente is equal to hypocrisy."

When people had enough of the talk about detente and harmony, the regime invented a new tune called the new or alternative formula. There are also those who talk of formulas in the plural. In my opinion, this is nothing more than a complement to the policy of diversion and distraction by which the regime has been distinguished.

Second, the talk about the formula at present means that we place the responsibility for all that has happened (i.e., the responsibility for the war, destruction and damage) on the shoulders of the Lebanese and the shoulders of the Lebanese system. In my opinion, this approach is serious because it absolves the Palestinians. In other words, we say that not the old formula but the armed and unarmed Palestinian presence, in addition to the Syrian occupation, is responsible for the war in Lebanon.

Therefore, the talk about the formula does no more than absolve the Palestinian and put the blame on formulas.

I do not know if the Palestinians are the one who, through cunning, indirectly inspire the Lebanese officials to bring up the issues of detente and formulas so as to divert the attention of the people from the main enemy who is the Palestinian.

Third, this is what makes me laugh and worry at the same time because the talk about detente and the formula in this particular phase, i.e., the phase of dual Palestinian-Syrian occupation, is very much like the case of a dying cancer patient who catches a cold accidentally. The physicians gather around the patient to focus on and treat his cold.

The cold is the formula and the cancer is the Palestinian.

If we want to be practical, honest and frank, as al-Arz Guards school has always been, then we must reject all discussion on the formula or on the so-called formula and detente and so forth. We must focus our attention on one issue, namely the issue of liberating or rather purging Lebanon, all of Lebanon, of the armed Palestinian presence, and especially the unarmed presence, and of the Syrian occupation of Lebanon.

In our view, all else is a waste of time and idle talk. If we want, just for the sake of amusement, to discuss the new formula, then with whom do you want [us] to talk?

If the disagreement is between two factions (and I do not believe that there are two factions in Lebanon but that there is a single faction, namely the Lebanese people), then the so-called other faction, which is a fraternal and brotherly faction, does not possess the freedom of decisionmaking and of opinion. Consequently, the dialogue is obstructed in advance and there will be no dialogue until the so-called other faction is relieved of the nightmare and until it gets to possess the freedom of dialogue, of opinion and of decisionmaking. Only then will the talk about the formula become reasonable and realistic.

When Lebanon is liberated from all the aliens living on its soil, the question of detente and of the formula will become a very subsidiary question and the Lebanese will reach an understanding more easily than you imagine. Here, I would like to stress that the Palestinian and Syrian presence is what has partitioned Lebanon, that the Palestinians and Syrians cannot survive among us unless Lebanon remains partitioned, contrary to what they allege and what the Syrians say on every occasion, namely that they are present in Lebanon to prevent its partition.

I assert that they are present to entrench the partition and so that they may remain among us for as long as possible.

The Palestinian and Syrian presence is what has created the partitionist barriers in the Lebanese areas. Despite these barriers and because of the strong faith of the Lebanese in their national unity, the Lebanese jump over these barriers every day in spite of the dangers involved. The biggest proof of this are the thousands of Lebanese who came to these areas last Sunday to see a soccer match.

So, where is the disagreement?

Where is the partition?

I refuse to talk about any disagreement among the Lebanese because the mere discussion of this disagreement and reiteration of this word by the Lebanese will act as a source and cause of disagreement and will absolve the Palestinians. We must not talk about an inter-Lebanese disagreement because such disagreement doesn't exist. We must focus only on the Lebanese-Palestinian disagreement because it is the basis, the problem and the cancer.

Yes, there are contradictions in the Lebanese society. What society is free of such contradictions? In England, in the United States (the whites-blacks disagreement), in France and in the most advanced countries of the world there are contradictions which are not necessarily religious contradictions.

Throughout history, the danger in Lebanon has always come on the hands of foreigners who have exploited and manipulated the contradictions in Lebanon. Therefore, the solution lies in striking these hands and amputating them right up to the armpit and in letting the Lebanese solve their own problems by themselves and without any foreign intervention. This is how peace will return to Lebanon and

how matters should be tackled. This, and not the regime's approach of lies, falsehood, idle talk and diverting the people's attention from their fateful issues, is the way.

Whoever says that the responsibility falls on the shoulders of the regime and of regimes [sic] is wrong. I say that all the regimes in the world—capitalist, democratic, dictatorial and individualistic regimes—are set up for the interest of the people. The democratic system is the least harmful. The problem has always lied in those in charge of the system and not in the system itself. The responsibility of the war in Lebanon doesn't fall so much on the shoulders of the system as much as it falls on the shoulders of those in charge of the system, meaning the traditional politicians who have ruled throughout 40 years and who have turned Lebanon into a farm instead of a state.

The system in Lebanon suffers from nothing. The ailment is in those who are in charge of the system and not in the system itself.

So, why discuss changing the system and not changing those in charge of the system who have continued to hold that position for 40 years without budging?

Let me give you an example: The communist system in the Soviet Union is somewhat successful and the democratic system in the United States is also successful. If we put the Lebanese politicians in charge of the systems in Russia and the United States, what would happen in those countries? Don't you believe with me that run will rush to them as soon as these politicians take over control there?

Therefore, the problem is not one of discussing and changing the system but one of looking for a new crew to rule Lebanon with a new mentality and with a new approach characterized by the following qualities:

Heroism, learning, holiness, ambition and vigor.

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NATIONAL MOVEMENT MEMBER DISCUSSES INTERNAL SITUATION

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 6 Feb 81 p 4

[Article: "Ibrahim Proposes Program 'To Regain the Issue:' A Unilateral Decision by the National Movement With Collective Implementation; Rejection of Any Security Plan and Deployment of the Army"]

[Text] Muhsin Ibrahim, Executive Secretary General of "The Central Political Council of the National Movement" and Secretary General of the Communist Action Organization, has announced the movement's rejection of any security plan and the army's deployment in the "national areas." Speaking at a seminar held yesterday at the Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir Hall at the Beirut Arab University, he also rejected the speech made by President Ilyas Sarkis at the Ta'if summit, and reaffirmed that the National Movement "supports the Palestinian revolution, while also recognizing that the revolution should desist from any excesses."

Ibrahim began his speech, which was attended by a number of Lebanese party leaders and leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement, by posing the following question: "What is wrong in the situation of the National Movement and what is the nature of that malfunction?" Answering his own question, he said: "Some months ago, we said loudly that there is a serious flaw in the general course of the National Movement. That flaw is political, first and last, and not a question of too many or too few armed bureaus."

He went on to explain: "The ordinary citizen sees the following equation: The Lebanese Front seems to have a cause, but it is no longer clear to the ordinary citizen what the cause of the Lebanese National Movement is. That citizen wants a clear answer from us, so that he will fight if we asked him to. The flaw, then, is the product of several years. It is not just a flaw of attitude. There are enough brains and capabilities in the leadership of the National Movement to enable it to adopt clear decisions. The flaw involved the position to which the National Movement was pushed during the past years, more than a flaw in the attitude that it had adopted. That flaw had an Arab background. Without that background, one cannot understand the history of Lebanon and the causes of the downward Arab course since the Sinai agreement and the dark period in which the Lebanese-Syrian-Palestinian alliance broke up."

Muhsin Ibrahim added: "The National Movement had a cause since 1969, while the adversary was fumbling about. The possession of a cause gave the National Movement the means of strength. That cause was to build Lebanon as a unified Arab, democratic, secular, nonsectarian homeland which is a committed party in the struggle between two adversary movements--Zionism and committed Arabism, the movement of secularism and democracy. The National Movement's action of proclaiming a transitional program of political reform enabled it to be in control of its cause and to possess the means of strength. That strength did not lie in the quantity of arms, but in the masses. The National Movement had the masses on its side. Kamal Junblat used to say: We represent the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese and geographically control 83 percent of the Lebanese soil."

Ibrahim then said: "What is the position to which we were pushed after 1976? (To keep the perpetrator anonymous does not mean evasion and avoidance of speaking out.) There was a bloody dispute which did not stop at the limits of a verbal dispute. Mistakes were committed by the national Lebanese-Palestinian-Syrian alliance. The circumstances and causes of these mistakes vary. But we lost control of our cause and with it the means of strength. We turned to a policy of retreat, and there was nothing we could do about that. All that we could do is exercise some tactics of exhortation within the context of a general strategy of retreat."

Suppositions and Facts

Muhsin Ibrahim went on to say: "The past 5 years were a time of testing a host of suppositions. The most significant of these were the supposition that the Lebanese crisis can be detached from the crisis of the region and the theory that the Lebanese wound should be closed so that we may be able to deal with the basic pan-Arab cause. Today, this view has become purely isolationist, whereas it used to be a mixed view shared with some of our Arab brethren, especially those who were concerned with the cause and who used to tell us that the best course of action is to close the Lebanese wound to devote ourselves to the basic cause."

"One of the other suppositions and premises is that of the independent plan attributed to President Ilyas Sarkis. Still a third supposition is the absence of an isolationist plan in the form and manner portrayed by the National Movement. A fourth supposition is that reconciliation and a political solution are possible through the renewal and rejuvenation of the sectarian political compromise."

"The National Movement had no choice but to grope around to see what results it can ultimately achieve. Now, however, we can offer the result of the test of the past years, and that result can draw the line between facts and illusions, especially since some illusions still linger in the ranks of the National Movement."

The first fact is that it is impossible to separate the Lebanese crisis from the crisis in the area (...) Voices are raised at home and in international fora to say that Lebanon has made sacrifices. It has been established that Lebanon is attached through the Arab gate or the Israeli gate. Those, from the higher echelons of government of Bashir Al-Jumayil, who advocate separating the Lebanese crisis from the crisis of the area, are advocating that Lebanon be attached to the Israeli gate."

Sarkis Plan

Muhsin Ibrahim then affirmed the following: "The isolationist plan calls for the establishment of another Israel in the area. This plan is not the product of 1975, but emerged before 1943. Dialogue with the proponents of that isolationist plan has proved to be pointless and agreement with them is impossible, because that plan has acquired a Zionist character and therefore we cannot expect its champions to retreat from their position voluntarily. It has become clear over the past 4 years that the so-called independent plan of President Sarkis has completely collapsed. If Sarkis had the ability, intention and will to enforce his independent plan, he would have managed to push his plan through over the past 4 years. The Arabs anointed him as a king at the outset of his presidency. But now we can say that the Sarkis plan is the official version of the isolationist plan which Bashir al-Jumayil is implementing on the ground.

"Sarkis' speech in Ta'if and the plan to organize the army are rejected. The speech was a misreading of the history of Lebanon. More serious than the Ta'if speech is the president's announcement that he will hold contacts with the various activists and forces to implement his plan. He is telling us, in other words, that all documents are null and void, including the document of the National Charter.

"We have before us a security plan drawn up by the regime. We can almost read this plan to mean that it will involve the marketplaces, Khaldah, the airport, Al-Batrun, Duhur al-Shuwayr and Zahlah. All this is being sought with the aim of imposing a tighter seige on the national areas as well as the Palestinian revolution. We reject the Ta'if speech in its entirety, and we also categorically reject the present army which is being built. We will not allow Lebanon to be in the grip of an isolationist army. We will reject all the security plans which will be presented and no one will be able to embarrass us.

We demand a national army. Give us a national army and we will guarantee that the [Palestinian] resistance will give it all kinds of concessions. Let no one upbraid us that Lebanon is the only platform from which the resistance movement operates. All Arab arenas consider Israel as their enemy and are trying to build up their armies to stand in the face of Israel. It is no discredit to them that they have been defeated by the enemy."

Amal Was Punished

Muhsin Ibrahim then turned to conditions with the National Movement. He said: "The debate within the National Movement reached the point of touching the roots of the illusions which were spread about a political settlement and political solutions. We have to stand in the face of factional plans which almost respond to designs of sectarian fragmentation in the national arena. The plan of isolationist hegemony does not involve a military domination of our areas inasmuch as it involves creating parallels for such domination here. No one should think that if he barricaded himself behind the walls of a certain sect or a certain area he would be given a share in this proposed settlement. Bashir al-Jumayil does not want to renew the 1943 compromise.

"The right attitude is what gives one a share in the general national position, unless some of us want to turn their political representation to a kind of deviant sectarian purity. The example of our brethren in the Amal movement, with whom we are linked by a positive relationship which we are seeking to develop, is the best proof of that. They have rejected a sectarian identification and were therefore treated as all the deprived political groups are treated. And that is because they refused to be a fascist sectarian movement which is clearly antagonistic to the National Movement.

"The Amal movement was thus penalized and treated in the same manner in which the extreme left was treated. This is a glaring example of what is required. You are required to be an isolationist sectarian or you will be denied a share."

Ibrahim reaffirmed that "the line of national confrontation of the isolationist plan is that of reviving the cause by re-establishing the transitional program as a means to building a Lebanon that is unified, secular and democratic and that publicly proclaims its allegiance to unionist Arabism through its two gates--the Lebanese-Syrian and Lebanese-Palestinian relations, as well as by raising the slogan of liberating the isolationist ghetto and its synonym, the occupied border strip. The aim is not to mount a military invasion from outside but to strengthen the opposition forces which were forged as a result of the fascist isolationist decision and which are growing day after day. Any political move designed to regroup the national forces should be an all-inclusive Islamic-Christian move. The real struggle in the Lebanese arena should be underscored, but that struggle would be stifled if it turned into a struggle between the Palestinians and the Phalangists or between the Syrians and the Phalangists."

Decision and Implementation

Muhsin Ibrahim called for "fortifying the national areas against any penetration." He also called on the Lebanese national forces to "take up their responsibilities by helping to insure their internal security and by dealing with the legitimate authority through its political positions, machinery and army in line with the criterion of protecting the national existence, its interests and its forces..."

He added: "What is required is to defend the national area here, in the south and everywhere and to face up to Sa'd Haddad in Combat. Therefore, the plan of the National Movement should be centered around the need to develop the organizational formula of the entire National Movement in such a manner as to make the decision-making mechanism a unilateral one and the mechanism of implementation a collective one. That is to say that there should be one center of national decision-making, not 15 centers. The National Movement has to solve the problem of fragmentation which is represented by a multiplicity of armed groups, by devising a framework of political coordination which would embrace all those who belong to the national fold and by devising several frameworks to coordinate efforts with the forces and figures of the national ranks, so that the National Movement would present its own positions and not dictate its own will on any one, while preserving the right to ask the forces of the national ranks to stop boasting that they have not borne arms during the 2-year war. The war was not a dirty war. It was a national war, and the real chapters of that war are still to come."

He urged that the relationship between the National Movement and the [Palestinian] resistance be regulated, and said: "The commitment that is required of us is represented by an equation in which there would be no peace at the expense of the [Palestinian] revolution or no war in which the revolution would be singled out. You have our commitment that the National Movement and Lebanon will remain a field in which we will fight to the last breath. The commitments that are required of the Palestinian revolution is to make a sharply clear distinction between the legitimate national interests of the revolution and its illegitimate excesses. The relationship between the National Movement and the national leadership in Syria should be organized on self-reinforcing foundations, the first of which is that Syria should continue to shoulder its political and military role of protecting national security in Lebanon, since that is a national Lebanese requirement. We call on the national leadership in Syria to take off the diplomatic gloves because there is a danger of a second Israel emerging in Lebanon and a third Israel emerging in Syria. It is very important that when the official Lebanese side offers Syria a Syrian-Phalangist reconciliation, Syria's answer should be that either the reconciliation be an inter-Lebanese one or there would be no reconciliation."

After the speech, Muhsin Ibrahim answered a number of questions. In reply to one answer, he said that what he stated was not a new declaration of war "but a program to regain the cause." However, he added that he foresees "a long, and sometimes tortuous conflict in which there could be temporary settlements, but these would remain fragile settlements."

In response to another question about the events which took place in 'Ayn al-Rummanah, he said: "We hold the president, the premier and the ministers responsible for having misled us about what occurred in 'Ayn al-Rummanah. We have not seen anyone brought to account, neither has there been a serious inquiry. A theatrical play has been enacted--a play in which the army entered the area as a flimsy cover for Phalangist control."

9254

CSO: 4802

BUDGET OF MINISTRY OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCED

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 7 Jan 81 p 3

[Article: "Finance Committee Approves Security Forces' Budget; 139,870,000 Pounds"]

[Text] The parliamentary finance and budget committee yesterday approved the first and second parts of the Ministry of Interior budget, including the internal security forces' budget of 139,870,000 Lebanese pounds.

The committee also approved the budget for the Office of Central Accounting, on which decision was postponed at the last session, after the secretary general of the cabinet confirmed that the new foundation of the bureau would be implemented soon. The budget totals 1,878,200 pounds, an increase of 18,200 pounds over last year.

Discussion concerning the budgets for public security and Palestinian refugees' affairs was put off until tomorrow's session.

Parliamentary sources said that a dispute broke out among the deputies, when one of them demanded an increase in the internal security forces' personnel strength and demanded improved equipment for them. The director general for internal security, Major General Ahmad al-Hajj, supported by the director general for public security, Faruq Abu al-Lam', made it clear that the role of the security forces would be limited, in the event of civil sedition or increased strife among the citizenry, and that the army is qualified to carry out that role in these events.

The heat of debate also rose when the section concerning secret expenditures was reached, when deputies objected to its amount of 350,000 pounds and demanded it be increased to 2 million.

The session, which lasted 4 and one-half hours, was chaired by Deputy Mikhayil al-Dhaheer, and was attended by Ministers 'Ali al-Khalil and Mahmud 'Ammar, as well as Deputies Maurice Zuwayn, Fu'ad Lahud, Shafiq Badr, Albert Mukhaybir, Saleh al-Khayr, Rashad al-Khuri, Michel Ma'ludi, and 'Ali al-'Abdullah. The secretary general of the cabinet, Dr 'Umar Musaykah, the director general of the internal security forces, Major General al-Hajj, the director general for public security, Abu al-Lam', the director general for central accounting, Ibrahim al-Tarabulsi, the director general for courts of vital statistics, Taufiq Hammadah, the director general for Palestinian refugees' affairs, Yusef Sabra, and the chief of the budget bureau in the Ministry of Finance, Joseph Abu Marwan, were also present.

Al-Dhaheer's Statement

At the end of the session, Deputy al-Dhaheer made the following statement:

"The committee discussed the budget of the Office of Central Accounting. The cabinet's secretary general, Dr 'Umar Musaykah, made it clear that the government had resolved to implement the decree applying to the Office of Central Accounting as soon as possible. A new basis for this bureau will be established, along with determining all the powers entrusted to each one of its departments. In light of that, it intends to ask for credits commensurate with the new structure.

"As for the budget's numbers, these are salaries of officials who previously belonged to the abolished Ministry of Public Planning. The budget was approved as submitted."

He added: "The committee also discussed the budget for the National Organization for Public Records, after it heard the presentation by the chairman of its board of directors, Dr 'Umar Musaykah, regarding its activities. The budget was approved as submitted.

"Concerning the Ministry of Interior's budget, long discussions were held pertaining to security conditions in general. The committee praised the efforts of the internal security forces and public security, in carrying out their missions in difficult circumstances. It expressed the hope that the responsible officials intended to increase the number of these forces and their equipment, in order to enhance the security climate. The committee approved parts one and two of the Interior Ministry's budget, the parts pertaining to the budget of the internal security forces."

Al-Dhaheer announced postponement of discussions of budgets for public security, courts of vital statistics, Palestinian refugees' affairs, and the Ministries of Finance and Health, until tomorrow, Thursday.

The following is a table of distribution of officials' salaries and supplements:

The budget for internal security forces and prisons, for 1981, is 139,870,000 Lebanese pounds, divided as follows: permanent officials' salaries and their supplements, 137,500,000 pounds, with a decrease of 5,110,000 pounds; salaries of contractors and their supplements, 1,770,000 pounds, increased 130,000 pounds; and workers' wages and supplements, 600,000 pounds, increased 200,000 pounds.

Salaries of permanent officials and supplements were divided as follows: basic salaries, 76,784,760 pounds; grade and promotion, 3,232,604 pounds; family allowance, 10,058,500 pounds; transport and transfer, 24,000,000 pounds; permanent service allowance, 2,574,720 pounds; allowance for military service burdens, 7,072,860 pounds; allowance for the post of officers, first assistant directors, and assistant directors, 744,960 pounds; military equipment for officers, 341,700 pounds; allowance for service (for some officers) 450,000 pounds; competence allowance, 2,000,000 pounds; uniform allowance for new lieutenants, judicial police elements, and investigatory detachments, 875,000 pounds; allowance for decorations, the Order of the Cedar for officers, and military medallions for ranks and individuals, 500,000 pounds; lighting and heating allowance, 325,896 pounds; weapon purchase

allowance, 9000 pounds; expense allowance, 30,000 pounds; and reserve callup, 8,500,000 pounds. Expenditures for allowances, assistance and remunerations amounted to 6,900,000 pounds, increased by 2,050,000 pounds, and administrative requirements, 6,090,000 pounds, increased 1,705,000 pounds. General administrative expenses are 3,885,500 pounds, increased by 768,000 pounds; maintenance expenses 5,300,000 pounds, increased 2,300,000 pounds; propaganda and foreign relations expenses, 350,000, increased 200,000 pounds; participation and assistance expenses, 10,110,000 pounds, increased 1,535,000 pounds; miscellaneous expenses, 143,000 pounds, increased by 25,000 pounds.

Maintenance and equipment expenses were divided as follows: spare parts, 1,000,000 pounds; various labor costs, outside of the internal security forces, 1,000,000 pounds; consumer goods, 150,000 pounds; washing and lubrication, 150,000 pounds, maintenance of boats, 550,000 pounds; maintenance of wireless and telephone equipment, 710,000 pounds; miscellaneous maintenance, 240,000 pounds.

The participation and assistance expenditures are as follows: prisoners' food, 1,300,000 pounds; medical treatment expenses, 1,200,000 pounds; social assistance expenses, 2,500,000; scholastic grants, 5,000,000; aid to the mutual assistance fund, 75,000; and aid to the League of Old Age Security Forces, 35,000 pounds.

7005

CS0: 4802

MISSING IMAM'S CASE REFERRED TO COURT OF JUSTICE

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 9 Jan 81 p 4

[Article: "Al-Sadr Case Referred to Judicial Tribunal. Shams Al-Din: It Was Put in Its Political Context. Qablan: Demanded Relations be Broken with Libya."]

[Text] The deputy chairman of the Higher Shiite Islamic Council, Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din, has welcomed the Council of Ministers' decision to refer the case of the disappearance of Imam Musa al-Sadr, and his two companions, to the judicial tribunal. He remarked that the Shiite Council had been asking for that for months, because it "put the case into its political context, since its constitutes an attack against Lebanon." His Eminence, the Ja'afari Mufti, Shaykh 'Abd al-Amir Qablan, has demanded that the government sever relations with the Libyan Jamahiriyyah.

Shams al-Din said: "The case of Imam Musa al-Sadr, and his two companions, is of daily concern to the Lebanese citizenry, especially the Shiite Moslems. Each action serving this case, whether in a political, national, Arab or Islamic framework, is an action that is obligatory on the state and on every activist political leadership element. Any initiative of this type is the object of our appreciation and consideration.

"Months ago, we asked for the referral of this case to the judicial tribunal, not only by virtue of the judicial consideration, but also to put the case in its true political context, since it constitutes an attack against Lebanon. This is aimed at creating dissension, infringing on the security of the state, and exposing Lebanon and its integrity to all kinds of perils. The cabinet's decision, yesterday, to transfer the case from the ordinary court to the judicial tribunal, which is the highest penal authority for serious cases infringing on state security, had been long awaited by us. We do not know of a more important case than this one, in terms of its level of significance, which demands movement by the judicial tribunal, having jurisdiction over conspiracies against state security, and possessing the legal means and capabilities for rapid adjudication.

"Imam al-Sadr, the most prominent of the Moslem dignitaries and the leading personality among religious thinkers and fighters, was chosen by the Islamic Shiite sect in Lebanon as a lighthouse to guide them, a symbol of their aspirations, a religious conscience of their community, and an incentive for their hopes. They placed their hopes on him for deliverance from the causes of their backwardness and deprivation, and from their present grievous position. The Lebanese individual,

affected by coercion, injustice and deprivation, also chose him as a hope for justice and protector of equality. Lebanon was in him, regardless of its sects and the multiplicity of its creeds, a firm bond holding together Lebanon's sovereignty and unity. One cannot look at this great man's case, except in terms of it truly being a conspiracy, aimed at the security of Lebanon, its sovereignty and its integrity. This is especially true since it occurred during a critical time, in which Imam al-Sadr was active, both domestically and abroad, immediately after the start of the Israeli occupation of the border strip, and the start of implementing plans to make the inhabitants evacuate the south, and to block the course of peace and accord in the nation, in which discord was rife. The Imam was active at that time, in terms of his activity at home on behalf of accord and the legal government's sovereignty over the entire country, and in terms of his visiting Arab nations. He spoke to their leaders, calling out: "What have you done for southern Lebanon? We ask you to agree on positive plans to end Lebanon's tragedy." The tour ended in Libya on 25 August, 1978; since that date, news about him has stopped.

"As for the truth of the disappearance of Imam al-Sadr, and his two companions, in Libya, it has been established for us and for all in Lebanon and everywhere in the world. The only reports published from time to time have been falsehoods and distortions. The latest of these was the statement of the Libyan ambassador in Teheran, published in the Lebanese press on 1 December 1980, which placed the responsibility on "SAVAK". He attributed that to Italian judgement. This was confirmed to be a lie in substance and detail, by the statement of the Italian ambassador in Lebanon, which was presented to the Higher Shiite Council on 17 December 1980, on behalf of his government and at its behest. This confirmed the Italian government's adherence to its public position of May, 1979, that Imam al-Sadr and his two companions never reached Italy."

Mufti Qablan

Mufti Qablan said: "Imam Musa al-Sadr's case has not been given its just due by the Lebanese authorities, or rather, it is necessary for them to mobilize all their capabilities and use every means at their disposal to deal with this case, which in fact is directed against the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon, and the solidarity and unity of its people and territory.

"Imam al-Sadr's absence constitutes a grave turn of events for Lebanon, or rather, for the area, because the plot against him causes it to face the establishment of mini-states, existing under the aegis of Israeli protection. His presence in Lebanon, and his harsh and relentless positions against the fragmentation of the nation, told the plotters that they would have to restrict his freedom and silence his voice.

"As for referring the case to the judicial tribunal, the authorities were asked to refer this case during the first week of his disappearance. However today, in circumstances of which only God knows the outcome, we call upon the authorities to sever relations with Libya. At that point, the government will have begun to be in harmony with the feelings, sentiments and desires of Imam al-Sadr's brethren.

IMPORTED INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY VALUE INCREASED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 9 Jan 81 p 6

[Text] The value of imported industrial machinery last December, amounted to 36,893,534 Lebanese pounds, i.e., an increase of 8,384,334 pounds or 29.4 percent over last November. Moreover, the value of imported industrial machinery, during 1980, amounted to 507,051,432 pounds, compared with 481,340,855 pounds in 1979. That is an increase of 25,710,487 pounds of 5.3 percent. The following table compares 1979 and 1980 by month.

<u>Month</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>
January	43,221,300	36,756,000
February	25,845,700	69,963,000
March	29,623,900	47,371,107
April	23,328,172	23,183,252
May	45,631,900	37,759,374
June	50,578,800	68,023,335
July	72,300,650	54,460,400
August	30,424,575	33,494,400
September	33,725,600	27,983,010
October	33,281,800	42,654,730
November	30,681,867	28,509,200
December	58,696,591	36,893,534
Total	481,340,855	507,051,342

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HOUSING PROBLEM ANALYZED, SOLUTIONS PROPOSED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 9 Feb 81 p 6

[Article by Michael Murqus: "The Minister of Housing and Cooperatives and Housing Projects Al-Jahli Tells AL-NAHAR: 'The Projects Are Complicated, the Terms Conflicting and the Solution Lies in Simplifying the Laws and Increasing Loans'"]

[Text] Before the [civil war] events, there was a Reconstruction Authority. Later, it became the Bureau of Development and Reconstruction and was given wider powers and jurisdictions which covered all the economic sectors.

The Reconstruction Authority built houses in Tyre, Majdaliya and Al-Mina'. They were few in number but they were the nucleus of housing in Lebanon. But that plan was not renewed, especially after the houses were seized by persons who still occupy them.

The Bureau of Development and Reconstruction has drawn up its own plans. In its development and reconstruction program, it stated that 400,000 housing units are needed in the period between 1978 and 2000. The bureau has prepared a blueprint for several housing projects. They are:

- 1) Repairing or rebuilding properties damaged by the fighting. The loans needed for that purpose have been estimated at 1.8 billion Lebanese liras. Under Legislative Decree No 20/77, the state can grant loans of no more than 30,000 liras per housing unit to be repaid over a period of up to 15 years at an annual interest of 2 percent (loans have been adjusted to 45,000 liras per housing unit). The project would be implemented by the Ministry of Housing.
- 2) A program to repair or rebuild houses which were damaged in the south as a result of the Israeli attack in March 1978. Material losses were estimated at 2,500 houses that were destroyed and 5,200 houses that were damaged. The amount of loans required for that purpose was estimated at 200 million liras. The project would be implemented by the Council of the South.

3) Building low-cost houses for persons whose annual income does not exceed 12,000 liras. A 6-year plan has been drawn up to build 51,000 housing units at a cost of 49,000 liras per unit. The total cost of the project was estimated at 2.5 billion liras. The project would be carried out by the Bureau of Development and Reconstruction and the Ministry of Housing.

Before the establishment of the Bureau of Development and Reconstruction, the Directorate General of Housing had laid down housing programs which included building houses on state-owned lands and providing loans to groups of persons who would share in building housing complexes. Applications were made by interested persons, but the events [of the civil war] and the housing needs after the events led to the abolishment of the program.

Despite the presence of a Ministry of Housing, the state establishment a housing bank. The bank is perhaps the only one which has offered housing loans thus far. Over the past 18 months, it signed out 966 loans, but its financial capacity is limited.

The National Fund for Social Security has also been participating in housing projects before the events and has laid down a program of housing financing. The General Directorate of Cooperatives has begun implementing several projects of housing coops and is preparing other projects for housing savings. Soon, the project which involves the construction of 20,000 housing units will be implemented. So far, 700 applications for these houses have been received. Eighty percent of them have been approved.

The General Housing Fund still has 90 million liras, but these cannot be spent until specific projects have been drawn up.

"Knot of Knots"

The multiplicity of agencies which are involved in housing is not a sign that the housing machinery is an effective one. Dr Salim al-Jahil, the Minister of Housing and Cooperatives, described the multiplicity of agencies involved in implementing similar projects as "one of the knots in the Lebanese state." He noted that "the agencies and projects concerned with housing were not the result of sound studies. They are the product of pressure not design."

Minister Al-Jahil spoke about the discrepancies and frustrating conditions in some housing projects, such as the conditions requiring a potential beneficiary to state the location, his income and his family status, and the stipulation that a beneficiary must be married. He noted that the most who are most afflicted by the housing situation are the newly married or those who are just entering the work force.

He said that the major cities attract job seekers, both in the public and private sectors. He also pointed out that depriving single people of housing loans should not be, because a married person is able on the whole to solve his housing problem, whereas a single person cannot get married if he cannot solve the housing problem, in view of tight supply in the housing market and high rents.

The minister said that before the project involving the construction of 20,000 housing units was drawn up, any citizen was eligible for the loans granted by the Housing Bank. But the restriction of income groups which are eligible for loans from the Housing Bank denied the benefits of such loans to other groups, even though members of such groups may be ineligible to benefit from the 20,000 housing units. Such denial covers, for example, a bachelor whose annual income is less than 40,000 or a married person whose income is lower than the maximum and who cannot or does not want to build a house in the area to which he belongs.

The minister believes that such conditions reduce the effectiveness of the housing programs, but he says, however, that "as long as 700 applications have been filed and 80 percent of those applications have been approved, then so be it."

New Projects

We asked him whether he had new projects in the field of housing. He said: "At the present time, I would like to make the housing projects and conditions more flexible. There are new projects. They include the establishment of housing coops, because collective action is the best and because the state cannot build on state-owned lands and then collect the cost of houses. These are strictly banking matters. In addition to encouraging housing cooperatives, plans are being drawn up to encourage housing savings, whereby a saver can benefit from housing loans 2 years after his initial savings deposit."

The minister is currently discussing with the private sector the possibility of cooperation in housing projects whereby the state could participate in planning. He said that some large landowners have offered to grant parts of their properties to the state provided that the state would provide the infrastructure in the said properties.

But the only possible solution of the housing crisis, in Dr al-Jahil's view, lies in facilitating means of transportation and shortening distances by building and asphaltting roads and providing means of transportation between the capital, the major cities and remote areas, that is to say between the centers of employment and the places in which employees and workers live.

The housing problem is one of the major concerns of the minister of Housing and Cooperatives, "in view of the low productivity of the agencies concerned, their haphazard muddling and their adherence sometimes to the letter of the law." The law, as Dr al-Jahil sees it, "should be adaptable to reality. A law can have various interpretations and is not a rigid constitution. The rigidity of any law is the result of the mentality of the employee, but that rigidity disappears when the employee stands to benefit or is driven by fear." Accordingly, the minister is in favor of legal interpretations that would rebound to the benefit of citizens.

Cooperatives

Referring to coops, the minister says that "they have achieved an upswing in several fields. In 1980, 80 million liras were in circulation in the area of agricultural coops and 110 million liras in the area of consumer coops. Efforts are now focusing on the establishment of housing coops. Seven such coops have been established so far. There are also efforts to promote savings and to devise collective solutions for the housing problem. The state is required to help these coops."

The coops are being financed through the National Union of Cooperative Credits. The Minister of Housing and Cooperatives said that the state can grant credits to the union to revive housing coops. On the other hand, he said, efforts are focusing on the establishment of cultural and artistic coops to help writers and artists. The minister also noted that "the number of coops has now reached 150 with a total membership of 35,000 heads of facilities. According to the data of the Directorate of Cooperatives, that number is growing. The data confirm the thirst of people for cooperative action." But their thirst for houses is greater.

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CSO: 4802

BRIEFS

COMPLETED CONSTRUCTION--The number of building permits issued by the engineers union in Beirut, during 1980, totaled 4984. The total licensed construction amounted to 4,873,308 square meters. It was also expected that, by the end of the year, the construction area would exceed that licensed in 1974, considered to be a yardstick-year in building activity. Construction has expanded from 4,027,397 square meters in 1974 to 4,873,308 square meters in 1980, that is, an increase of 22 percent. Note that the total number of licensed construction for 1980 does not include permits granted by the engineers union in the north. As for distribution of construction area by province, it was as follows: Jebel Lubnan, 3,288,195 square meters; Beirut, 845,831 square meters; al-Biq'a' 310,257 square meters; the South, 348,332 square meters; the North (except the Tripoli union) 80,693. Jebel Lubnan province had the highest percentage of the total area, 67.5 percent, followed by Beirut with 17.4, the South was 7.1, Biqa' with 6.4, and the North (excluding the Tripoli union) 1.6 percent. It was noted in the statistics of the engineers union in Beirut that permits within the Jebel Lubnan area are concentrated in the suburbs, especially along the capital's northern coast. Construction permits during the trouble years developed from 4187 licenses in 1975 to 133 [sic] in 1976, 2568 in 1977, 2453 in 1978, and then to 4984 in 1980. It is worth noting that the number of licenses does not necessarily mean that all the projects pertaining to them have been implemented, aside from the fact that a portion of these licenses relate to settling previous violations. [Text] [Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 9 Jan 81 p 6] 7005

CSO: 4802

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

PRESIDENT DISCUSSES CURRENT ISSUES

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 21 Jan 81 p 10

[Interview with 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen; place and date not given]

[Text] The Secretary General of the Yemeni Socialist Party, PDRY President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, talked to AL-SAFIR about the current situation in the Gulf area and the African Horn area. He also talked about relations between PDRY and YAR. He said that the special concern that Washington is showing through its military agreement with Somalia shows "aggressive intentions." He added that any aggression against PDRY by the U.S. bases in Egypt, Somalia and Oman will not only be met with military resistance, but "the allies of national independence, sovereignty and peace in the world will be on our side."

He, again, denied any Soviet presence in his country and said that such claims are aimed at "justifying the pro-American stand and the agreement in relation to the U.S. military bases in some countries in the area." He expressed his support of the Soviet initiative to close all foreign military bases in the area, expressing his optimism about the success of this initiative.

[Question] Mr President, we notice that your country's opinion on national and central issues are almost unknown to our Arab people, although PDRY's stand on the overall problems is decisive. What, in your opinion, causes this situation? Is it related to what some people believe, that you are satisfied with the role your party plays within PDRY?

[Answer] The matter is partially due to the media blockade around PDRY by the reactionary media circles who are loyal to international imperialism. The PDRY is witnessing revolutionary changes for the benefit of the new sectors--the laborers and farmers--, guided by the scientific socialist theory. This causes the reactionary and imperialist media circles to follow the policy of concealing [our] information and stands from our Arab people for fear that their interests will be hurt. Despite all this, I think our Arab people realize where PDRY stands in relation to this century's struggle between the liberal progressive revolutionary forces and the imperialist forces and all those who are in their political orbit. It is true that we own modest information media that does not allow us to transmit our opinion on one matter or another to our Arab people. But our Arab people have become aware of the stand and actions of every regime relative to the national,

central problems or the liberal and revolutionary problems around the world. It is not true, as some think, that we are content with our Yemeni Socialist Party's role within PDRY. On the contrary, our internal duties do not make us forget to carry out our national and international duties. I do not want to go into detail about our stands and the duties and tasks our Party is carrying out on a national and international basis.

The Reactionary Alliance

[Question] Progressive Arab and international circles referred to the existing alliance between Siad Barre's regime in Somalia and Sadat, under the auspices of the American military-economic umbrella. They also pointed out that one of the direct goals of this alliance is to strike the revolutionaries in PDRY and Ethiopia. Lately, the existence of nuclear missiles within Somalia has been continuously referred to.

Is there any possibility that these nuclear warheads could be used against you? Do you think it is possible that the U.S. would resort to its nuclear power to face more complex situations in the future in both the Gulf area and the Arab Peninsula?

[Answer] The alliance between Sadat's regime in Egypt and other regimes in this camp, such as the Qabus regime in Oman, is an alliance directed against revolutionary and progressive regimes in the Middle East. The existence of this alliance under the American imperialist political-economic umbrella increases its danger to the liberation and revolutionary movement in the area and threatens peace. The U.S. recently installed military bases in Egypt, Somalia and Oman and received facilitations in the lands of these countries. We were told that the special attention the American Administration is showing toward the military agreement with Somalia is related to the aggressive intentions of American imperialism toward the people and countries of the area. This was confirmed by many indicators that came into view in the light of Kissinger's visit to the area and his movements among the capitals of Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Somalia and Oman. In all cases, I can say that America can continue to commit crimes against peace, but it cannot prevent our people from resisting such crimes by all means.

We will have the right to take and follow all possible ways to resist the imperialist existence and prevent the success of its perils. Whether the information about the existence of nuclear missiles in Somalia is true or not, we realize the U.S.'s aggressive nature and the conspiracies it hatches against progressive regimes. As much as we realize the purpose of U.S. military existence in these countries, we in PDRY emphasize that whoever tries to resort to military force against our people will be faced with large scale military resistance. At that time we will not be alone; the friends of national independence, sovereignty and world peace will be on our side.

The Yemeni Dialogue

[Question] News from the YAR said that there is a shift in the position of the president of North Yemen from dialogue with the National Democratic Front to the use of force. Don't you feel that this obstructs the peaceful development of the Yemeni people?

[Answer] When we used to emphasize and insist on the necessity of staying away from using rifles as a basis for dialogue, we did that because of long years of experiencing and suffering instability in Yemen. We knew what war meant. We realized that war does not honor anyone and can only give comfort to the enemies of Yemen who panic whenever peace and stability prevail in Yemen. Therefore, at the time when we were intent on normalizing relations, seeking contact with our brothers in the northern part of the country--headed by brother 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, we welcomed and encouraged dialogue between President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih and the National Front. We did this based on our deep belief that force will not create peace. We have lived up to our responsibility in this matter, taking into consideration that our people are in urgent need of peace and stability for their peaceful and democratic development. The coming days will prove that our actions were based on our words. This confirms the degree of loyalty we have toward the safety and stability of our people. Those who imagine they can come among and break up the people of one nation and trade in Yemeni blood can only deceive themselves. We are sure that brother President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih agrees with us on the importance of being aware of the enemies' plots. We, in the southern part, will continue our work, communications and peaceful activities with our brothers in San'a', based on loyalty to the nation, standing against all attempts at recreating tension between the two sections.

Situation Along the Borders

[Question] There was a lot of talk lately about harassment and provocations that Arab reactionaries exercise against your country, particularly along the borders. Can you explain the nature of these harassments and who is behind them?

[Answer] Talking about the harassments and provocations exercised against our people by certain parties may involve a lot of details which I find unnecessary and unsuitable to discuss now. As you know, the forces opposed to our revolution used, over a period of more than 10 years, all means of conspiracy and destruction. They opened camps for mercenaries; trained them, financed them and exported them to the border areas to conduct sabotage activities. They established secret broadcasting stations and financed newspaper publications, employing hired writers to lead cheap propaganda campaigns against our regime. Despite all this, our revolution was becoming stronger and the unity of our party and people was becoming deeper and stronger, while the enemy's propositions and locations were collapsing, one after the other.

For this and other reasons related to the change in the balance of power in favor of the National Liberation Movement in this area, some destructive elements were controlled and the situation changed. But the enemy did not fear the results of its aggressive, adventurous actions and was not ashamed of using all methods against the Yemeni people and the Yemeni revolution. In fact, we are not afraid of sabotage activities because we are sure of ourselves, and our people who faced the previous attacks are capable of protecting themselves and defending their progressive achievements and national sovereignty.

Continuing Campaigns

[Question] It seems from the course of events that you still remain silent in the face of campaigns against you, conducted by some information media. Why?

[Answer] Although the results of positions of others in my country during the past years were enough to teach them a lesson, it can be said that, in principle, we know the limits of dealing with others. We actually purposely ignored many false accusations and skeptical campaigns against our people and regime and forced our media to concentrate on matters related to economic and social development of our people and carrying out its duties of dealing with major issues in the Arab world by concentrating on the struggle against the imperialist and Zionist enemy. In this stand, we respected the principles and bases on which relations are formed among countries and people. We endeavor to keep all that can help our people to achieve stability and peace.

[Question] What about the report that one magazine published about the results of the general emergency conference of the Yemeni Socialist Party?

[Answer] This method, used to destroy regimes, has been tried before against other countries and failed. In my opinion, it is a cheap method reflecting failure and disappointment. There are lots of black pens and hired papers that specialize in spreading poison against our people and other people. What have they reaped? The truths in front of us point out that some parties may succeed in planting trouble inside one country or between one people and another. But this is soon discovered and exposed naked in front of everybody. In the past, they said, among the poisons they spread here and there, that Islam in PDRY is in danger and that mosques have turned into gambling clubs. The originators of such poisons and false propaganda ignored our role, as Yemenis, in spreading Islam in their countries. When such propaganda was exposed, some groups resorted to old methods of propaganda saying that PDRY has become a Soviet base, that nuclear missiles are directed from Aden against the Gulf nations, and that the General Emergency Conference had approved the exportation of revolutions to North Yemen and the Arabian Gulf. By benefiting from the experience of imperialist propaganda, they used prominent headlines and colorful magazines for this work so that, in addition to deceiving readers with false information, they helped frighten some sister countries of alleged nuclear missiles in PDRY. The direct goal behind this intimidation was to justify the biased, pro-U.S. position, agree to the U.S. military bases in some countries of the area, and justify the aggressive position toward PDRY. We are not concerned that this false, published information could mislead anyone. If some readers were misled by it, it will not mislead our concerned brothers. It may be appropriate here to renew our sincere invitation to all our Arab brothers who are enthusiastic for the liberation, independence, sovereignty and advancement of their people and national wealth to seriously stop and deal with the developments in the Arab area which have become, due to the American military presence, a threat to the safety and future of our people. Standing against all forms of military existence and closing foreign military bases in the countries of this area and the Indian Ocean is considered the main direct task placed in front of all the countries of this area, on which the future of safety and settlement is based and in the light of which all stands become unified and the truth is revealed. As for the continuing

provocations and aggressive acts against our people, we will act with responsibility to face such provocations, taking into consideration that in our endeavor to prevent relations from being tense among the countries of this area, we will not ignore actions that disturb our peace and hurt our regime and people.

Closing Military Bases

[Question] Does your call imply that the closing of foreign military bases in neighboring areas is the beginning of your political activity in this direction, or is it to reassure the Gulf countries that there is nothing in PDRY that could threaten them and eliminate the illusion that some people have tried to plant in their minds about Soviet military presence in Aden?

[Answer] There is no need for us to prove to others that there are no Soviet bases in our country. Nothing can be kept secret on the face of earth. Military science has advanced and the sky is full of spying and listening devices. The Americans who assigned their agents to justify their presence in some countries realize that there is no Soviet military presence in PDRY, and our brothers know this too. Those who use their false propaganda campaigns against us to justify their bias for America, giving up their national sovereignty, also know that. But their circumstances force them to resort to the use of anything, including falsifying information and spreading lies. By inviting our Arab brothers to make use of the Soviet peace initiative, we are seeking to close military bases and protect our people from the danger of foreign interferences. We are also seeking to provide the deep and strong foundations for the safety and settlement of our people and for normal and mutual relations among the countries of this area; relations based on mutual respect. We also ask them to reject the open and hidden methods of plotting and conspiring which some sides have been known for in their relations with the Arabs.

The Soviet Initiative

[Question] Are you optimistic about the success of the Soviet initiative regarding closing foreign military bases in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean and standing against the interference of others in the internal affairs of these countries?

[Answer] We are really optimistic about the success of this initiative. I say that not based on indications and results achieved so far, but through realizing that this initiative includes major issues that do not only serve world safety and peace, but first and foremost serve the objectives and interests of our Arab people. This initiative will also silence the voices that were repeatedly claiming Soviet presence in the area. It will expose those who, for many years, kept deceiving their people and justifying their dealings with American and Zionist monopolies as fear of the alleged Soviet danger.

We extend our hands to all our brothers whose sovereignty and settlement of their nations is important to us. We invite them to stand by our side to accept the Soviet initiative to close all foreign military bases and oppose any foreign interference in the affairs of our countries. We have expressed this opinion to several Arab leaders and explained that the American refusal of the Soviet peace initiative confirms that American imperialism owns military bases in this area and is the main danger to our independence, sovereignty and our people's resources. It also confirms that the real reason behind the American presence and their allies are aggressive intentions that neither want to nor intends to let go of [such bases] for the sake of peace, settlement and safety of our people.

[Question] In reference to what was mentioned about discovering petroleum wells within PDRY lands, what kind of change in the balance of power of this area could this discovery cause?

[Answer] We will work on exploiting our potential and national resources for the benefit and comfort of our people. We will not use it for anything else.

[Question] PDRY became an observing member in the Economic Cooperation Council of Socialist Countries, CEMA. Is there any economic advantage to acquiring this membership?

[Answer] There is a positive and effective advantage to this membership. First, we are interested in having our economic plans coordinated with those of other socialist countries. The main positive outcome will be in the long run. On this basis, we realize the value and importance of today's work for tomorrow in relation to organizing economic cooperative relations with the Economic Cooperation Council of Socialist Countries.

[Question] After the Amman Summit, how will you deal with its members in general?

[Answer] We will deal with all sides on the basis of their stand on major national problems: The Palestinian problem, the problem of imperialist presence, and the Zionist influence in the Arab world. We will not accept any decisions or stands that disagree with what we had emphasized in the Baghdad and Tunisia summits and what we had already been committed to within the framework of Arab group decisions relative to boycotting the Sadat regime and its supporters and the acceptance and confirmation of the PLO as the only legal representative of our Arab Palestinian people.

9455

CSO: 4802

U.S. SAID TRYING TO DECIMATE EGYPT THROUGH BIRTH CONTROL

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 30 Jan 81 p 7

[Article by 'Abd-al-'Aziz Sulayman: "Under the Label of Birth Control, America Launches a War of Annihilation Against the People of Egypt"]

[Excerpt] After Egypt was led to become completely subservient to American politics and became a sphere of influence, and after the Egyptian economy became tied to the wheel of the American monopolies, after the economic open door policy which ruined the national economy and changed the country into a consumers' market for American companies, nothing was left but the Egyptian citizen, who has not escaped the scourge and evil of this policy.

Under the cover of the population explosion in Egypt, a vast operation is currently under way, under the supervision of the faithful president's wife, Mrs Jaihan Sadat. Its purpose is birth control, and it is sponsored by the American Agency for International Development just as it was in Latin American countries, when American doctors were involved with the sterilization of peasants--in Colombia, Bolivia and other Andean countries--without the knowledge of, under the pretext of providing medical services, supposedly for birth control.

Al-Sadat's information agencies have launched campaigns to advertise and promote this operation which is currently being implemented by American technicians cooperating with Egyptians in various parts of Egypt. This campaign has started encountering rejection and opposition on the part of patriotic Egyptian doctors, scientists, not to mention by religious leaders. Egyptian intellectuals and scientists have drawn a parallel between this birth control campaign on the part of AID in Egypt and the attempts made in both the economic and political fields, which led Egypt to become completely dependent on American monopolies and entirely subservient to Washington politics.

It is a known fact that the birth control and family planning operation in Egypt was previously connected with the development plans and supervised by Egyptian scientific institutions. However, these institutions no longer play any part in this operation, and the whole operation currently is under the control of AID, which does whatever it wishes with a serious and important matter concerning the future of the people of Egypt.

If we take into consideration the amount of American loans and aid granted to the Egyptian regime between 1975 and 1979, we will find that they reached enormous sums totalling about \$4.2 billion. A large portion of that assistance was specifically used to finance the birth control campaign and stop the population explosion. AID assigned the amount of \$1.1 billion to the Egyptian regime this year, consisting of a budget for projects, American goods, food relief and easy-term loans. An amount of \$10 million was assigned to family planning against only \$2 million to be spent on medical services in rural areas. American grants concerning the birth control operation and related projects in Egypt totalled about \$100 million during the period between 1975 and 1980. It is a known fact that the "assistance" granted by Washington to foreign countries must be spent on non-productive operations and in fact to purchase American products at high prices.

Using these various forms of help as a pretext, the American Peace Corps, which includes a large number of spies and CIA people, infiltrates the countries to spy on the peoples which Washington pretends to assist. The genocide operations conducted in a number of Latin American countries under the cover of family planning were implemented under racist plans aimed at destroying large numbers of natives of those countries, and that no longer is a secret to any one. The huge sums spent by America under the name of foreign aid involve goals which are more far-reaching than mere assistance. The purpose of American aid to Egypt is to put an end to the development plans and projects there, to annihilate the achievements of the era of the Revolution of July in the industrial, agricultural and other fields, thus to make the Egyptian economy subservient to American imperialism and prevent any real development from taking place in the country.

The purpose of this operation also is to bleed the population in Egypt and reduce it to the lowest level possible, while America encourages Jewish immigration to occupied Arab lands and favors establishing more Zionist settlements, expansion plans aimed at increasing the population of the racist entity, and encouraging population increase on a large scale, because this operation essentially is connected with the realization of the old Zionist dream: the Greater State of Israel.

These operations, currently financed by America, which spends lavish sums on them, are conducted within a racist framework according to the neo-colonialist concepts which came up at a number of international congresses, where the topic of population explosion was taken as a basis to spread such ideas. This operation is propagandized by a number of scientists of the West, according to whom the solution of the world population explosion is birth control exclusively in the Third World. Some of them have even claimed that such a plan should be implemented forcibly, and others went as far as suggesting that working toward reducing the height of the inhabitants of the Third World to only one meter, so as to reduce their food, clothing and housing requirements. These people want to solve the problem of the world population explosion by establishing a balance between the inhabitants of the world on a racial basis.

It is under the above-mentioned concepts that AID operates in Egypt, i.e. by sterilizing the population, preventing the growth of the poorer classes and cutting down the population in order to annihilate any development plan in the country and impose economic dependency. At this point, America would give the Zionist entity a wide scope of action, so that it might extend its influence over Egypt, and finally spread and infiltrate all arab lands, unless they put a stop to these racist operations.

2693

CSO: 4802

GOVERNMENT SEEKS FOREIGN FUNDS

London 8 DAYS in English 28 Feb 81 p 23

[Text]

THE TUNISIAN GOVERNMENT estimates that at least a quarter of the money for its sixth Five Year Plan (1982-1986) — variously estimated to cost \$17.5bn to \$22.5bn — must come from foreign sources. Planning Minister Mansour Moalla has ambitions to raise the proportion of foreign investment involvement to 50 per cent; moreover, he is hoping to broaden Arab investment, which is currently concentrated in tourism.

Since 1976 the Tunisian-Kuwaiti Development Corporation (TKDC) has provided TD30m (\$72.6m) for five tourism projects; now the company hopes to make at least TD50m (\$121m) available for tourism development schemes during the sixth Plan. The Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development (ADFAED) has a 24 per cent equity participation in the giant Port el-Kantaoui tourist complex, with the Arab International Bank holding another four per cent.

However, Tunisian economic planners are particularly keen on attracting Arab funds into the phosphate and chemical fertiliser industries, fishing, agriculture and infrastructural projects. Tunisian development schemes worth TD330m (\$799m) were proposed to potential Arab backers during a seminar in Tunis last autumn.

Tunisia has no investment legislation providing incentives for Arab investors. Head of the Agence de Promotion Industrielle (API), Moncef ben Abdallah,

says that no changes are planned, but nonetheless Tunisia's Arab friends should realise the advantages the country has to offer, such as privileged access to the Common Market.

Western bankers in Tunis, however, are sceptical as to whether the country really has enough viable economic schemes to attract significant inflows of Arab capital. Delays in implementing important projects during the current plan have also raised a number of question marks. For instance, negotiations for Saudi and Abu Dhabi backing for the \$18.5m Polyester Fibres of Tunisia (PFT) plant have dragged on.

The government's new strategy in attracting Arab funds revolves around setting up joint investment banks as well as joint industrial ventures. Abu Dhabi pioneered Arab participation in Tunisian banking when its national bank set up an offshore banking unit a few years ago. Kuwait joined the handwagon last year with the \$250m Tunisian-Kuwaiti bank, and negotiations are reportedly underway with Saudi Arabia for the establishment of a similar institution.

France has also agreed to set up a joint investment bank, but wants additional Arab participation in the venture. The bank is to have \$250m capital with France holding 25 per cent, Tunisia 40 per cent and other Arab participants 30 per cent. Abu Dhabi and Qatar were first approached, but now it seems that Iraq might be the other Arab partner.

The presence of Arab financial institutions in Tunis is viewed as essential to increasing Arab investment in industrial development. The first Saudi joint venture, Societe Internationale Arabe pour les Etudes et l'Equipement (SIAEE), opened in 1980. Its partners are the Centre National de l'Informatique, Societe Generale de l'Equipement and Saudi businessman Hassan Rafai; the firm is to make an inventory of studies and services available in the Gulf states.

ADFAED was the first Arab institution to take a major equity stake in Tunisian industry through its 40 per cent participation in the capital of the Societe Arabe des Engrais Phosphate et Azote (SAEPA). The plant, which came on stream in 1979, produces 330,000 tonnes a

year of phosphoric acid.

An agreement for a TD20m (\$48m) equity participation by Kuwait's Petrochemical Industries Company (PIC) in Tunisia's Industries Chimiques Magrebines (ICM) to help finance a 500 tonne a day phosphoric acid plant in the southern port of Gabes was announced last March. This represents one of the largest investments by a Gulf country in Tunisia. Another accord provides for Tunisian participation in a proposed joint venture fertiliser plant in Kuwait.

Planning Minister N. " explains that the purpose of these joint ventures would be to 'create a financial network to mobilise national savings, exploit Arab financial resources and make Tunis an international financial centre'.

EEC CUTS TUNISIAN CLOTH EXPORTS

London 8 DAYS in English 28 Feb 81 p 58

[Article by Shada Islam]

[Text]

SHADA ISLAM files from Brussels on EEC attempts to safeguard its besieged textile industry by cutting Tunisian import quotas.

A BID by the EEC Executive Commission to liberalise Tunisia's exports of denim to the European Community was rejected as 'too generous' by the EEC foreign ministers' meeting in Brussels on 17 February.

Spearheaded by the French and Irish delegations, EEC ministers refused to authorise the European Commission to negotiate a new export arrangement on textiles with Tunisia until it could come up with more 'realistic' quota levels, designed to safeguard the Community's own crisis-ridden textiles sector.

Textiles trade between Tunisia and the EEC has been regulated by a 'voluntary export arrangement' concluded rather reluctantly by Tunis in March 1979. The agreement put Tunisia's exports of indigo denim under strict Community quotas, which were further sub-divided into regional levels for each EEC country. Strict limits were also slapped on Tunisia's exports of other 'sensitive' products, including tee-shirts, trousers, blouses and shirts.

Despite Tunisian protests that the restrictions run counter to the provisions for

free trade included in the EEC-Tunisia cooperation agreement, the European Commission made it clear that a new arrangement would have to be made for 1981. European commissioner for industrial affairs Etienne Davignon promised, however, that the Community would improve on the 1979 figures and liberalise imports of Tunisian denim.

EEC Commission experts have been embarrassed by indications that, despite restrictions on Tunisian denim, the Community is currently importing a large percentage of its domestic requirements from the US. Tunisian authorities also argue that almost all the equipment used by its textile industry is imported from the Community, and as such the imposition of restrictions is all the more surprising.

In the proposals for a new agreement which the Commission forwarded to EEC foreign affairs ministers in November last year, instead of the earlier quotas on denims, it recommended the liberalisation of imports, adding that EEC countries could apply the 'safeguard clause' if Tunisian exports overshot the 10,000 tonnes mark.

EEC countries are currently under severe pressure both from their textile trade unions and Third World suppliers, who accuse the Ten of meting out more favourable treatment to their partners in the southern Mediterranean.

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